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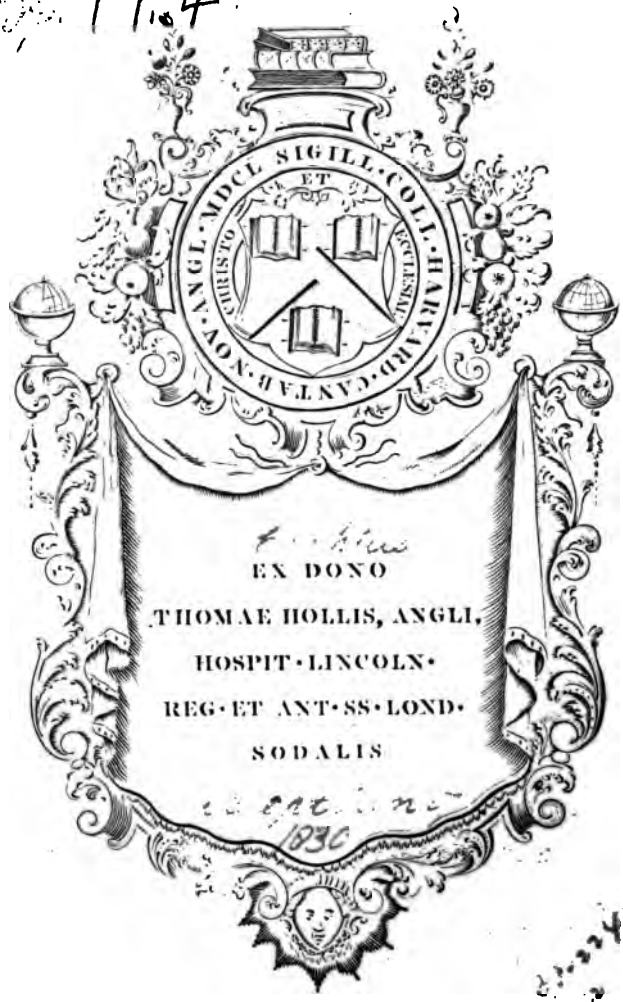
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CHRISTO ET ECCLESIAE
EX DONO
THOMAE HOLLIS, ANGLI,
HOSPIT·LINCOLN·
REG·ET ANT·SS·LOND·
SODALIS
1836

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KING HENRY THE EIGHTH,

AND HIS JESTER, WILL SOMERS.

From his own Psalter
still preserved in the Royal Library of Manuscripts.
(In the British Museum)

[illegible]

ORIGINAL LETTERS,

ILLUSTRATIVE OF

ENGLISH HISTORY;

INCLUDING

NUMEROUS ROYAL LETTERS:

FROM AUTOGRAPHS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM,

AND

ONE OR TWO OTHER COLLECTIONS.

WITH NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

BY

HENRY ELLIS, F.R.S. Sec. S.A.

KEEPER OF THE MANUSCRIPTS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

SECOND EDITION.

LONDON.

PRINTED FOR

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TO

HIS MOST SACRED MAJESTY

KING GEORGE THE FOURTH.

SIRE,

I MOST humbly lay at YOUR MAJESTY'S feet these Volumes illustrative of ENGLISH HISTORY. They contain numerous Letters written by YOUR MAJESTY'S Royal Ancestors: and the larger portion of them come from that Repository which YOUR MAJESTY has been graciously pleased to enlarge and enrich with the Donation of the Library collected by YOUR MAJESTY'S REVERED FATHER: a Gift, greater than has been bestowed by any Sovereign upon any Nation since the Library of the PTOLEMIES was founded at Alexandria.

That YOUR MAJESTY may long live to witness the Advantages accruing to the Learned and the Good from such accumulation of LITERARY TREASURE, is the earnest and the constant Prayer of

SIRE,

YOUR MAJESTY'S MOST LOYAL

AND DEVOTED SUBJECT AND SERVANT,

HENRY ELLIS.

PREFACE.

THEY who desire correct information of the History of their Country must not limit their reading to the Work of the General Historian exclusively.

History, confined to the greater events which it records, is usually certain and true: but in the colouring which writers give it, and which they are proud to call the philosophy of history, it is too frequently erroneous. Characters are drawn by those who could not know the persons they describe: facts are imperceptibly perverted to the uses of party: and events which owe their origin to the simplest, are often traced back to the remotest causes. Thus circumstanced, History, however comprehensive in its view, partakes too much of the embellished nature of Romance.

To remove doubts, to verify facts, and to form a clear conception of particular events, the reader must seek subsidiary aid, in the dispersed materials of

History; of which, ORIGINAL LETTERS *of* EMINENT PERSONS IN THE STATE form both the largest and the most important portion: and they exist in this Country, in an uninterrupted succession, for more than five Centuries.

These bear the impress of their respective times: and, whilst many of them regard affairs in which the writers were actively engaged, all afford a closer and more familiar view of characters, manners, and events, than the pen of the most accomplished compiler of regular history, even if he might be trusted, could supply.

They unravel causes of action which without their aid would be impenetrable; and even throw new light upon parts of history which superficial readers suppose to be exhausted.

How far the present Selection of Letters may deserve so good a character, the Reader must determine for himself.

The Editor has been desirous of producing a Work, which, while it exhibited within reasonable limits a series of historical Pictures, might be considered as A SUPPLEMENT TO OUR HISTORIES. To render it more acceptable, he has, here and there,

prefixed Introductions to particular Letters, in which numerous traits and minute anecdotes bearing upon detached topics of history have been compacted and condensed. In the execution of this design the illustration of historical truth has been his sole object: and he believes it will be found that these Introductions, as well as the Letters themselves, throw new light on various passages of our History.

Many Readers, it is probable, will think the earlier part of the Series of Letters here presented, of a forbidding aspect, on account of the uncouthness of the language. But to have modernized these Letters would have answered no purpose of utility: it would have been like destroying the external character of an ancient mansion. Such words in them as are really obscure or obsolete, have been explained in glossarial notes.

CONTENTS.

VOL. I.

LETTER		PAGE
I.	King Henry V^th to . . . . . on the safe keeping of the Duke of Orleans, his prisoner....	1
II.	Archbishop Chichele to King Henry V^th when in France, upon the King's sending for a Confessor.....	3
III.	Robert Waterton to King Henry V^th A.D. 1420, just before the King's marriage with Katherine of France.....	6
IV.	Cardinal Beaufort to . . . . . to take some money from his coffers.....	8
V.	K. Edward IV. when Earl of Marche, and his brother the Earl of Rutland, to their father Richard Duke of York.....	9
VI.	Richard Duke of York to the Citizens of Shrewsbury, A.D. 1452; upon his march toward London to overthrow the Duke of Somerset.....	11
VII.	Richard Earl of Warwick to Thomas Rede, one of his Bailiffs, for the repayment of money borrowed in his distress.....	14
VIII.	B. Essex to John Say, Esq. A.D. 1462.....	15
IX.	King Edward IV. to Dr. Alexander Legh his Almoner, and Ambassador in Scotland, A.D. 1477, respecting some proposed marriages..	16
X.	King Henry VII. to the Earl of Ormond, upon the arrival of the news of Perkin Warbeck's landing in Ireland in 1492.....	18

LETTER		PAGE
XI.	King Henry VII. to Sir Gilbert Talbot, knight, A. D. 1495, to prepare to join the King with his forces	19
XII.	Lord Bothwell from the Court of James the Fourth of Scotland to K. Henry VIIth respecting Perkin Warbeck. A. D. 1496	22
XIII.	Lord Bothwell, a second Letter, to King Henry VIIth concerning Perkin Warbeck. A. D. 1496	25
XIV.	Second Letter of King Henry VIIth to Sir Gilbert Talbot, upon the landing of Perkin in Cornwall. A. D. 1497	32
XV.	King Henry VIIth to the Bishop of Bath and Wells, upon the defeat of Perkin Warbeck at Exeter	34
XVI.	The Earl of Devonshire to King Henry the VIIth upon the flight of Perkin from Exeter to Columpton	36
XVII.	The King to . . . . . announcing the pursuit of Perkin	37
XVIII.	The Bishop of Bath and Wells to Lord Carlisle upon the same	38
XIX.	King Henry VIIth to Sir William Say, upon his feud with Sir John Fortescu	39
XX.	Margaret Queen of Scotland to her father King Henry the VIIth after her marriage	41
XXI.	King Henry the VIIth to his mother, Margaret Countess of Richmond, a Letter of affection and kindness	43
XXII.	Margaret mother of Henry the VIIth to her Son; signing as Queen. A Letter of affection	46
XXIII.	King Henry VIIth to the Pope, on provision to be made to resist the Great Turk, enemy to the Christian faith	48
XXIV.	King James IVth of Scotland to King Henry VIIIth a Letter of regard	63

LETTER PAGE

XXV. Margaret Queen of Scotland to King Henry VIIIth respecting the Legacy bequeathed to her by her Father, which had not been paid 64

XXVI. Dr. Nicholas West to King Henry VIIIth detailing his interviews with K. James the Fourth; and the state of the Scottish Fleet... 65

XXVII. King James IVth to King Henry VIIIth for the preservation of Peace. A. D. 1513..... 76

XXVIII. Catherine of Arragon Queen of England, to Thomas Wolsey the King's Almoner, while attendant on the King in France. A. D. 1513 78

XXIX. Queen Catherine to Thomas Wolsey. Aug. 13, 1513, expressing affection for the King's person: preparations for the war with Scotland, &c..... 82

XXX. Queen Catherine to Thomas Wolsey. Aug. 25, 1513: congratulations after the battle of the Spurs..... 84

XXXI. Lord Surrey's second Letter of Challenge to King James IVth of Scotland..... 85

XXXII. Queen Catherine to King Henry VIIIth after the Battle of Flodden field. A. D. 1513.... 88

XXXIII. Queen Catharine of Arragon to Thomas Wolsey after the battle of Flodden..... 89

XXXIV. Thomas Lord Dacre to King Henry VIIIth A. D. 1513, describing a border forray..... 92

XXXV. William Burbank to King Henry VIIIth upon the death of Cardinal Baynbrigge at Rome, A. D. 1514..... 99

XXXVI. William Burbank's second Letter to King Henry VIIIth upon the same..... 106

XXXVII. Richard Pace to King Henry VIIIth upon the death of Cardinal Baynbrigge..... 108

XXXVIII. Mary Sister of King Henry VIIIth to Louis XIIth of France..... 113

XXXIX. Mary Queen of France to King Henry VIIIth

LETTER PAGE

upon the dismissal of her retinue, the morning after her marriage..... 115

XL. Mary Queen of France to Thomas Wolsey, then Archbishop of York, upon the same... 117

XLI. Mary Queen of France to Wolsey, after the death of Louis XIIth..... 119

XLII. Mary the French Queen to her brother King Henry VIIIth requesting him to send for her from France 121

XLIII. Mary Queen of France to King Henry VIIIth after her marriage with the Duke of Suffolk.. 122

XLIV. King Henry VIIIth to Cardinal Wolsey, a Letter of kindness and confidence..... 125

XLV. Margaret Queen of Scotland to Lord Dacre, in answer to his solicitations to her to leave Scotland..... 127

XLVI. Margaret Queen of Scotland to Cardinal Wolsey, after her arrival in England..... 128

XLVII. Margaret Queen of Scotland to King Henry VIII. while journeying toward London. A. D. 1516 129

XLVIII. Queen Margaret to Cardinal Wolsey, asking for a supply of money..... 130

XLIX. Queen Margaret to Cardinal Wolsey, respecting her going to Baynard's Castle..... *ib.*

L. Thomas Lord Dacre to Cardinal Wolsey, A. D. 1516, boasting that he maintains and gives rewards to Scottish Outlaws..... 131

LI. Dr. Cuthbert Tunstall to King Henry VIII. concerning Maximilian's proposal to resign the Empire to Henry. A. D. 1517..... 134

LII. Sir Richard Wingfield to King Henry VIII. respecting the proposed Interview with Francis I^st^ A. D. 1519..... 139

LIII. Sir Thomas Boleyn to King Henry VIII. reporting the audience in which Francis I^st^ re-

LETTER PAGE

ceived the promise of Henry's interest for the Empire. March 14, 1519 148

LIV. Sir Thomas Boleyn to Cardinal Wolsey, reporting an Audience from the Duchess of Angoulesme, March 25, 1519 150

LV. Sir Thomas Boleyn to King Henry VIIIth announcing the Election of the Emperor Charles V^th 154

LVI. Richard Pace to Cardinal Wolsey, on the Election of Charles V^th 156

LVII. Sir Thomas Boleyn to Cardinal Wolsey upon the Christening of the Duke of Orleans, afterwards King Henry II. of France. June 7th, 1519 159

LVIII. Sir Thomas Boleyn to Cardinal Wolsey respecting the Interview with Francis I^st A. D. 1520 162

LIX. Sir Richard Wingfield to Cardinal Wolsey, respecting the interview, April 18th, 1520 166

LX. Sir Richard Wingfield to King Henry VIIIth May 7th, 1520, announcing a Present to the King of Horses 168

LXI. Sir Richard Wingfield to Cardinal Wolsey, May 25th, 1520. Farther preparations for the Interview announced 171

LXII. The Lords of the Council to King Henry VIII. after the Interview 174

LXIII. Sir William Fitzwilliam to Cardinal Wolsey, detailing a conversation with Francis I^st concerning the Duke of Buckingham. A. D. 1521 176

LXIV. Extract from the Cardinal's Answer to Sir William Fitzwilliam, upon the same 178

LXV. John Longland bishop of Lincoln to Cardinal Wolsey, signifying the King's approbation of Wolsey's intention to found a College at Oxford 179

LXVI. William Capon, dean of Cardinal College Ips-

LETTER PAGE

wich, to Cardinal Wolsey, upon the foundation and ordering of the College of Ipswich.. 185

LXVII. R. Gruffithe to Cardinal Wolsey, upon the emigration of the Irish to Pembrokeshire..... 191

LXVIII. Sir Thomas More to Cardinal Wolsey, expressing the King's wish to favor the town of Wexford in Ireland 195

LXIX. Sir Thomas More to Cardinal Wolsey. Various Intelligence..... 198

LXX. Sir Thomas More to Cardinal Wolsey, on the Earl of Devonshire's Marriage, &c..... 200

LXXI. Sir Thomas More to Cardinal Wolsey, concerning a Bill devised for Sir Richard Wyngfield. 202

LXXII. Sir Thomas More to Cardinal Wolsey, upon Scottish and other affairs..... 203

LXXIII. Sir Thomas More to Cardinal Wolsey, expressing the King's pleasure respecting the marriage of the widow of an Alderman of London... 207

LXXIV. Sir Thomas More to Cardinal Wolsey, upon Scottish affairs 208

LXXV. Sir Thomas More to Cardinal Wolsey, upon the same..... 210

LXXVI. Sir Thomas More to Cardinal Wolsey, from the King, respecting my lord of Surrey; a mortality in the Army; &c..... 212

LXXVII. The Earl of Surrey to Cardinal Wolsey after the burning of Jedburgh. A. D. 1523 214

LXXVIII. Cecily Marchioness of Dorset to Thomas Cromwell, afterwards Lord Cromwell..... 218

LXXIX. . . . . to the Earl of Surrey, Lieutenant of the North, on the resistance of the Parliament to the King. A. D. 1523..... 219

LXXX. The Earl of Surrey to Cardinal Wolsey when preparing to resist the Duke of Albany's Invasion. A. D. 1523..... 223

LXXXI. Lord Surrey to Cardinal Wolsey, upon his farther preparations..... 228

LETTER PAGE

LXXXII. Lord Surrey to King Henry VIII.th after the defeat of the Duke of Albany at Werk 232

LXXXIII. King Henry VIII.th to the Earl of Surrey; thanks him for the defeat of Albany 236

LXXXIV. King Henry VIII.th to the Citizens of London, on their neglect to provide horses for the carriage of his wines and provisions 239

LXXXV. Lord Dacre to Cardinal Wolsey, reporting the Duke of Albany's negociations with the Scottish Lords, and his last departure for France. A. D. 1524 240

LXXXVI. Lord Dacre to Cardinal Wolsey in continuation of the former Letter 246

LXXXVII. King James V.th of Scotland to King Henry VIII.th in favor of the archbishop of Glasgow 251

LXXXVIII. Sir Thomas More to Cardinal Wolsey, detailing his conversation with the King, concerning John Joachim; &c. A. D. 1524 252

LXXXIX. The Archduke Ferdinand of Austria to King Henry VIII. announcing the Victory of Pavia. A. D. 1525 257

XC. Dr. Sampson to Cardinal Wolsey, on the news of the Victory of Pavia reaching Madrid 260

XCI. Henry Duke of Richmond, natural son of King Henry VIII. to Cardinal Wolsey 267

XCII. King Henry VIII. to Cardinal Wolsey, a Letter of kindness 269

XCIII. The Council for the Household of the Lady Mary to Cardinal Wolsey, concerning preparations to keep Christmas 270

XCIV. Queen Catharine of Arragon and King Henry VIII. to Cardinal Wolsey; a Joint-Letter, expecting the coming of Campegius. A. D. 1527 274

XCV. William Knight to Cardinal Wolsey: with an account of the audience given to the ambassador of John Zapol Sepuse King of Hun-

LETTER PAGE

gary; and of the permission given to Francis Philip the Queen's sewer to go to Spain. A. D. 1527 276

XCVI. Sir Bryan Tuke to Cardinal Wolsey, A. D. 1528, upon the sweating sickness; the making of the King's Will; &c. 282

XCVII. Sir Brian Tuke to Cardinal Wolsey, upon the transaction of various business with the King; his Majesty's practice of Medicine; the Sweating Sickness; &c. 286

XCVIII. Sir Thomas More to Cardinal Wolsey, with directions from the King respecting the Negociations with Spain 297

XCIX. Mary the French Queen to her brother King Henry VIIIth; a Letter of affection 304

C. Anne Boleyn to Cardinal Wolsey, expressing gratitude 305

CI. Thomas Alward to Thomas Cromwell. A. D. 1529. Watching Wolsey's motions 307

LETTERS

FROM

THE REIGN OF

KING HENRY THE FIFTH

TO

THE REIGN OF

KING HENRY THE SEVENTH.

PRIOR to the Reign of HENRY *the* FIFTH, specimens of English Correspondence are rare. Letters previous to that time, were usually written in French or Latin; and were the productions chiefly of the great and the learned. The Letters of learned men were verbose treatises, mostly on express subjects: those of the great, who employed scribes, from their formality frequently resembled legal instruments. We have nothing earlier than the fifteenth Century which can be called a FAMILIAR LETTER. The material too, upon which Letters were written, up to the same period, was usually vellum: very few instances indeed occurring, of more ancient date, of Letters written upon paper.

The Reader who desires to see original specimens of the French and Latin Letters of the earlier periods, will find plenty preserved in two or three of the Cottonian Volumes. There is a French Letter of Hugh le Despenser as early as 1319, giving orders for the defence of his Castles: and several occur in the same language, relating to the affairs of Edward the Third. There is a Latin Letter of Richard the Second to Albert Duke of Bavaria, complaining of the turbulence of his nobility: and another from Henry the Fourth to Tamerlane, congratulating him upon his victory over Bajazet. But the titles of these are quite sufficient for the reader: for in their contents they are dry and wordy, with little of detail and less of artifice in their composition.

It is not irrelative to this part of our subject to mention, that the earliest Royal Signature known, of this Country, is as yet unpublished. It is the Signature of King Richard the Second. It occurs once in the Cottonian Library affixed to a Paper which concerns the surrender of Brest. It is *Le Roy R. E.* There is another document remaining among the Records in the Tower, with a similar signature affixed.

OF the Letters which form the first Section of the present Work, those which relate to Perkin Warbeck, and that which gives Henry the Seventh's reasons for declining to join the Pope against the Turk, are probably the most important. This last Letter is believed to be the composition of Richard Fox bishop of Winchester, who schooled Wolsey in the arts of intrigue.

ORIGINAL LETTERS,

ETC.

LETTER I.

King Henry the Fifth to . . . . . A Fragment.

[MS. COTTON. VESP. F. III. fol. 5. *Orig.*]

*** This fragment appears to have been written about the year 1418. A Letter in part of similar import, from the same King to the Bishop of Durham his Chancellor, written in 1419, is extant in Rymer, from an original in the Pells Office.

FURTHERMORE I wold that ye comend[a] with my brothre, with the Chanceller, with my cosin of Northumberlond, and my cosin of Westmerland, and that ye set a gode ordinance for my North Marches, and specialy for the Duc of Orlians, and for alle the remanant of my prisoners of France, and also for the K. of Scotelond; for as I am secrely enfourmed by a man of ryght notable estate in this lond that there hath ben a man of the Ducs of Orliance in Scotland,

[a] communed.

and accorded with the Duc of Albany that this next somer he schal bryng in the mamnet[a] of Scotlond to sturre what he may. And also that ther schold be founden weys to the havyng awey specialy of the Duc of Orlians, and also of the K. as welle as of the remanant of my forsayd prysoners that God do defende. Wherfore I wolle that the Duc of Orliance be kept stille withyn the Castil of Pontefret, with owte goyng to Robertis place or to any othre disport, for it is bettr he lak his disport then we were disceyved. Of all the remanant dothe as ye thenketh.

Charles Duke of Orleans, nephew of Charles the Sixth of France, who was found among the slain at the field of Azincourt, remained prisoner in England from 1416 to 1440. Henry the Fifth deemed his detention most important to the safe keeping of the conquests in France. The first place of his confinement was Windsor, whence, in 1417, he was removed to the castle of Pontefract in Yorkshire, under the care of an esquire named Robert Waterton[b].

In 1430, he was removed to the Tower of London; where he composed the Book of Sonnets which is still preserved among the Royal Manuscripts in the British Museum[c], in one of the beautiful Illuminations of which we have the earliest View now known both of the Tower and the City. These Sonnets are mostly amatory, or complaints of his imprisonment, with, now and then, an affectionate remembrance of France:

> "France jadis on te souloit nommer
> En tous pays le Tresor de Noblesse,
> Car ung chascun pouoit en toy trouver
> Bonte, honneur, loyaulte, gentillesse."

One of these Sonnets bears the date of 1437. It is remarkable also that amongst them there are three Ballads in English, written with sufficient elegance to indicate that during his confinement he had acquired an accurate knowledge of our language.

[a] Mammet, or puppet. [b] Rym. Fœd. tom. ix. p. 456. [c] MS. Reg. 16 F. II.

In the Illumination above noticed, the Duke of Orleans is represented in a room in the state story of the White Tower, writing, and surrounded by his guards. Whilst prisoner in the Tower, four hundred marks a year were allowed for his support[a]. He was released with a great formality of Instruments; among which the protest against his liberation from Humphrey Duke of Gloucester is not the least memorable. His own recognition of his liberty is dated Nov. 12th, 1440[b]. The Manuscript alluded to was written for the use of Henry the Seventh.

King James the First of Scotland, who is likewise ordered to be carefully guarded in King Henry's letter, remained a prisoner in England from 1406 to 1424. He, also, relieved the severity of confinement by poetic composition: and it is not a little remarkable that Henry the Fifth should, at the same time, have held in durance two prisoners, both of royal blood, and, confessedly, the best poets of their age.

LETTER II.

Archbishop Chichele to King Henry the Fifth when in France, upon the King's sending for a Confessor.

[MS. COTTON. VESP. F. XIII. fol. 29. *Orig.*]

*** From this Letter it will appear that the piety of Henry the Fifth was scarcely less ardent than his love of war. Two circumstances noticed in it, the siege of Falaise, and the death of the King's confessor, fix its date to the beginning of the year 1418. The confessor was Stephen Patrington, a Carmelite, whom Walsingham calls, "vir eruditus in trivio et quadrivio"[c]. He became bishop of St. David's in 1415. In December 1417 he was appointed to the see of Chichester, but died before his translation could be perfected. Some of the Sermons which he preached before the King in the quality of confessor, are still extant in manuscript.

SOVEREYN Lord, after moost humble recommendacion with hele[d] bothe of body and of sowle, as zour selfe

[a] Rym. Fœd. tom. x. p. 468.
[b] Ibid. tom. x. p. 829.
[c] Walsingh. Hist. edit. 1574. p. 432.
[d] health.

and alle zour liege men desire, lyke zow to wyte that the first Soneday of Lenton[a] the dwk[b] of Excester zour huncle sent for me to the Frer Prechours, wer[c] I fond with him zour preest and bedeman[d] Thomas Fyshborn, and ther he tok to me zour Lettre wryten with zour owne hond in zour hoost be fore zour town of Faleys, be the wich I undirstood, as I have at alle tymes, blessud be Almyzty God, understonde, that a mong alle zour moost wordly[e] occupacions that any Prince may have in herthe[f], ze desire principaly vertuous lyvyng and zour sowle heele; and for as myche as my brother of Seint Dåvid as was zour confessour is in his best tyme go[g] to God, ze desire that I shold be the avys of zour uncle a forseyd send zou in his stede a gode man and a clerk of divinite to ocupie that offis til zour comyng into zour lond of ynglond. And whan I hadde red zour honurable letter zour uncle a forseyd seyd to me that he hadde comunyd with Sir Thomas Fyschborn a forseyd be zour comaundement of this same matier, and whow[h] it semed to hym, if it lyked me, that Thomas Dyss a frer prechour, mayster of divinite of the scole of Caumbrygge, wer a good man and a sufficient ther to, and whow[h] thei hadde comunid with him ther offe, and al so with frere John Tylle the provincial of the same Ordre ther offe; and considereng his good name and fame as wel in good

[a] Lent. [b] duke. [c] where. [d] One who offers prayers for the welfare of another. [e] worldly. [f] earth. [g] gone. [h] how.

and honest lyvyng as in clergie, I assentyd in to the same persone, and so comuned with hym ther offe, and toold him owre comun avis; and he hath ziven his assent ther to and ordeyneth hym in alle hast to come to zour presence, so that I hop he schal be with zou at the same tyme that zour chapel schal come: and be the grace of God ze schol fynde hym a good man and a spirituel, and pleyn to zu with owte feyntese[a]. Forthermore towchyng that ze desire to have licence to chese zou a confessor &c. I sende zu a letter ther offe a seelyd undir my seel, with sufficient power to do in that caas al that I myzt do my self in caas I wer my self in zour roial presence[b]. Towchyng al odr things, I wot wel my lord your brother sendyth to zu pleynlych[c]: and ther fore undir zour Grace it semeth to me no more to vexe zour Hygnesse with myche redyng: prayeng ever almyzty God suych speed to graunt zou on zour moest ryal Journe that may be to his plesaunce, and hasty perfourmeng of zour blessud entent, and pees[d] to cristen pepul. Amen. Wryten at Lamhyth xvj day of Febr.

zour preest and bedeman

H. C.

[a] dissimulation.

[b] Licentia concessa domino Regi ad eligendum sibi Confessorem. dat. apud Lambeheth 16 die Feb. A. D. 1417. (*i. e.* 1418.) Reg. Chichel. archiep. Cantuar. Pt. ii. fol. 331, b.

[c] fully, from the Fr. adj. *plein*.

[d] peace.

LETTER III.

Robert Waterton to King Henry the Fifth, A. D. 1420, *just before the King's marriage with Katherine of France.*

[MS. COTTON. VESP. F. XIII. fol. 31. *Orig.*]

*** Robert Waterton has been already noticed as the Esquire to whose care the Duke of Orleans was consigned at Pontefract, in 1417. He had been master of the horse to King Henry the Fourth. Metheleye, where the King had his Lodge, and whence the following Letter is dated, was situated about five miles from Pontefract.

RYGHT excellent hegh and ryght myghty Prynce, and most dredde sovereyne Lorde I recomaunde me to zour heghnes als lowely as any symple trewe liege man and sugette kan best thynke or devyse, thankyng all myghty God of zour graciouse spede and right grete conquest wyth the prosperite of zour awne persone, my lorde of Clarence, my lorde of Exetre, and all my lordes beyng there in zour worshipfull servyce, wyth all the remenaunt of zour right worshipfull oste[a]. Os[b] I have conceyvid by zour right honorable lettres wrytin at zour Cytee of Rouen the xij. day of Marche, the whych I have receyvid ryght late syth Pask[c], wyth othir zour lettres undir zour Pryve Seale, chargyng me to assaye by all the menesse[d] that I kan to exyte and stirre sych as been able gentilmen wythin the shyre and the contree

[a] host. [b] as. [c] Easter. [d] means.

that I dwell in, to kome[a] ovyr to zowe at zour Wage, armyd and arayde as langys[b] to thaire astate, to do zowe servyce, and for to certifie als wele to zowe os[c] to zour Counsell of thaire answere and thaire will, the whych zour hegh comaundement I have bygunne to labour apon and sall trewely forthe[d] dayly wyth all my myght till I have perfourmd zour forsayde comaundement. And upon Wedynsdaye next sall zour Justice sitte at Zorke[e] opon the deliverance of the Gaole there and a Cession of the Pees[f] also, at which tyme I suppose to speke with many of the gentyls there, and als sone aftyr as I maye be answerd I sall certifie os[c] zowe hase lykid to comaunde me, wyth all the haste possible. Ryght excellent, hegh, and ryght myghty Prynce and moste dredde sovereyne Lorde I beseche the blissid Trinite to spede zowe and kepe zowe, and all zour worshipfull oste, and sende zowe sone in to zour roialme of Inglande wyth a joyouse maryage and a gude pees for his mykill mercy. Writin at zour awne logge of Metheleye the xij daye of Aprill

zour trewe liege man and
subgitte ROBT. WAT'TON.

[a] come. [b] belongs. [c] as. [d] further. [e] York. [f] Session of the Peace.

LETTER IV.

Cardinal Beaufort to . . . . . .

[MS. COTTON. VESP. F. III. fol. 8. *Orig.*]

*** The following short Letter relates to a small portion of that wealth which the rich and cunning Cardinal of Winchester is said to have reproached in his last moments, at the age of eighty, because it could not prolong his Life. The anecdote is told by Hall upon the authority of John Baker the Cardinal's privy counsellor and chaplain. Cardinal Beaufort's wealth however was sometimes serviceable to the State; he lent King Henry the Fifth, at one time, the sum of no less than twenty thousand Pounds.

TRUSTY and welle belovid I grete zow herttely well, and I pray zow that ze wlle goo, and W. Toly my clerk, berer of thys, with zowe, to the Coffre that my monoye is inne, and take oute ijM. and ccc. marc. and take hit the forsayde Toly, and lette seele the Cofir azeyn with a signet of myn, gravin with the salutacion of our Lady, the whyche my seide clerk haht[a]. Wrytyn of myn owne hand at London the xij. day of Marche.

H. CARDINAL OF ENGELAND,
&c.

[a] hath.

LETTER V.

Edward the Fourth when Earl of Marche, and his brother the Earl of Rutland, to their father Richard Duke of York.

[MS. COTTON. VESP. F. III. fol. 9. *Orig.*]

*** The chief singularity in this Letter is the use of the word "natural" as implying a legitimate Son. It was brought in evidence, on this very account, a few years ago, before the House of Lords, in the Case of the Borthwick Peerage.

RYGHT hiegh and ryght myghty Prince, oure ful redouted and ryght noble lorde and ffadur, as lowely with all oure herts as we youre trewe and naturell sonnes can or may, we recomaunde us un to your noble grace, humbly besechyng your nobley & worthy ffaderhode daily to yeve[a] us your hertely blessyng: thrugh whiche we trust muche the rather to encrees and growe to vertu, and to spede the bettur in all matiers and things that we schall use, occupie, and exercise. Ryght high and ryght myghty Prince, our ful redouted lorde and ffadur, we thanke our blessed Lorde not oonly of your honourable conduite and good spede in all your matiers and besynesse, and of your gracious preuaile ayenst thentent & malice of your evilwillers, but also of the knowelage that hit pleased your nobley to lete us nowe late have of the same by relacion of Syr Watier Deureux knyght, and John

[a] give.

Milewatier squier, and John at Nokes yemon of your honorable chambur. Also we thonke your noblesse and good ffadurhod of our grene gownes nowe late sende unto us to our grete comfort; beseching your good lordeschip to remembre our porteux[a], and that we myght have summe fyne bonetts sende un to us by the next seure messig'[b], for necessite so requireth. Overe this, ryght noble lord and ffadur, please hit your highnesse to witte that we have charged your servant William Smyth berer of thees for to declare un to your nobley certayne things on our behalf, namely concernyng and touching the odieux reule and demenyng of Richard Crofte and of his brother. Wherefore we beseche your graciouse lordeschip and full noble ffadurhood to here him in exposicion of the same, and to his relacion to yeve ful feith and credence. Ryght hiegh and ryght myghty Prince, our ful redoubted and ryght noble lorde and ffadur, we beseche almyghty Jhū yeve yowe as good lyfe and long with asmuche contenual perfite prosperite as your princely hert con best desir. Writen at your Castill of Lodelowe on Setursday in the Astur Woke[c].

Your humble sonnes

E. MARCHE and

E. RUTLONDE.

[a] This was the Breviary, a compendious missal, which contained not only the Office of the Mass, but all the Services except the Form of Marriage. Tyrwhit, in his Notes upon the Canterbury Tales, says, that on the Parliament Roll of 7th Edw. IV. there is a petition that the robbing of *Porteous*, Grayell, Manuell, &c. should be made felony without benefit of clergy; to which the King answered "le Roy s'avcisera."

[b] messenger.

[c] Easter Week.

LETTER VI.

Richard Duke of York to the Citizens of Shrewsbury, A. D. 1452; *upon his march toward London to overthrow the Duke of Somerset.*

[FORMERLY IN THE POSSESSION OF GODOLPHIN EDWARDS, ESQ. *Orig.*]

RIGHT worshipful friends, I recommend me unto you, and I suppose it is well known unto you, as well by experience as by common language said and reported throughout all Christendom, what laud, what worship, honour, and manhood was ascribed of all Nations unto the people of this Realm, whilst the Kingdom's Sovereign Lord stood possessed of his Lordship in the realm of France, and Dutchy of Normandy; and what derogation, loss of merchandize, lesion of honour, and villany, is said and reported generally unto the English nation, for loss of the same; namely unto the Duke of Somerset, when he had the commandance and charge thereof: the which loss hath caused and encouraged the King's enemies for to conquer and get Gascony and Gyanne, and now daily they make their advance for to lay siege unto Calais, and to other places in the Marches there, for to apply them to their obeisance, and so for to come into the land with great puissance; to the final de-

struction thereof, if they might prevail, and to put the land in their subjection, which God defend. And on the other part it is to be supposed it is not unknown to you, how that, after my coming out of Ireland, I, as the King's true liege man, and servant, and ever shall be to my life's end, and for my true acquital, perceiving the inconvenience before rehearsed, advised his Royal Majesty of certain Articles concerning the weal and safeguard, as well of his most royal person, as the tranquillity and conservation of all this his realm: the which Advertisements, how be it that it was thought that they were full necessary, were laid apart, and to be of none effect, through the envy, malice, and untruth of the said Duke of Somerset; which for my truth, faith, and allegiance that I owe unto the King, and the good will and favour that I have to all the Realm, laboureth continually about the Kings Highness for my undoing, and to corrupt my blood, and to disherit me and my heirs, and such persons as be about me, without any desert or cause done or attempted on my part or theirs, I make our Lord Judge. Wherefore, worshipful Friends, to the intent that every man shall know my purpose, and desire for to declare me such as I am, I signify unto you that with the help and supportation of Almighty God, and of our Lady, and of all the Company of Heaven, I, after long sufferance and delays, not my will or intent to displease my sovereign Lord, seeing that the said

Duke ever prevaileth and ruleth about the King's person, that by this means the land is likely to be destroyed, am fully concluded to proceed in all haste against him, with the help of my kinsmen and friends; in such wise, that it shall prove to promote ease, peace, tranquillity, and safeguard of all this land: and more, keeping me within the bounds of my liegeance as it pertaineth to my duty, praying and exhorting you, to fortify, enforce, and assist me, and to come to me with all diligence, wheresoever I shall be, or draw, with as many goodly and likely men as ye may make to execute the intent abovesaid. Written under my signet at my Castle of Ludlow, the 3rd day of February. Furthermore I pray you, that such strait appointment and ordinance be made, that the people which shall come in your fellowship, or be sent unto me by your agreement, be demeaned in such wise, by the way, that they do no offence, nor robbery, nor oppression upon the people, in lesion of justice. Written as above, &c.

Youre good Frend

R. YORK.

To my right worshipful Friends, the Bailiffs, Burgesses, and Commons of the good Town of Shroesbury.

LETTER VII.

Richard Earl of Warwick to Thomas Rede, one of his Bailiffs.

[MS. COTTON. VESP. F. XIII. fol. 42. *Orig.*]

*** The particular distress to which the following short Note alludes, cannot be discovered now: and it is probable that the Earl of Warwick wrote many such, for Hall speaking of his death in 1470 at the battle of Barnet, says "this ende had Richard Nevell earle of Warwicke, whose stoute stomacke and invincible corage, after so many straunge fortunes, and perilous chaunses by him escaped, caused death before he came to any old age privily to steale on hym. But death did one thing, that life could not do, for by death he had rest, peace, quietness, and tranquillitie, which his life ever abhorred, and could not suffre nor abide."

RICHARD ERL
OF WARREWYK

WELEBILOUED we grete you wele, and wol and charge you that of the revenuez of your office commyng ye pay to Philip Lowez that he lent us in our right grete necessite, xlvj^{s}. viij^{d}. and this our Lettre shal be your warrant. Zeven[a] undre our signet at London, the xiiij day of Marche the yere of the reigne of King Henry sext, xxx.

To Thomas Rede our baillif
of Sutton or eny other for the
tyme beyng.

[a] Given.

LETTER VIII.

B. Essex to John Say, Esq.

[MS. COTTON. VESP. F. XIII. fol. 50. *Orig.*]

*** The execution of Sir Baldwin Fulford, a strenuous adherent of the House of Lancaster, ascertains the year 1462 as the date of this Letter. Stowe says, "This yeere, in the harvest season, King Edward rode to Canterbury and to Sandwich, and so along by the sea-coast to Hampton, and from thence into the Marches of Wales, and to Bristow, where he was most royally received. Thus he progressed about the land to understand the estate thereof"[a].

WORSHIPFUL Sir I recommaunde me unto you lating you wite that the King maketh right grete bostes of you for the truest and the feithfullest man that any christen Prince may have, of the whiche I am right glad and joyeux that ye have soo borne you, whiche I pray to God that it may longe endure to youre prouffit and worship. And as for the matier that ye sende to me for by Thomas Petevyn, the King laughed and made a grete game therat, neverthelesse I have praied hys Highnesse to kepe it secrete. Also this Wendesday after our Lady day[b] the King departeth from Bristowe towards Gloucestor, and so from Gloucestre to Herford, and from Herford to Ludlowe, and ther he wol abide unto the parlement tyme, and whan I have brought him there I wol comme home with the grace of God. As for any grete doyng in Walez I trust to

[a] Stowe, Annals, p. 416. [b] The Nativity of the Virgin Mary, Sept. 8th, is here intended.

God we shal not doubte. The Lord Herbert and the Lord Feriers of Chartley with divers many other gentilmen ben gon afore to clense the countreye afore us. And this same day Sir Bauldwyn Fulford and an other called Haysaunt ben putte in execucion. And our Lord kepe you ever. Written in hast at Bristowe the ix. day of September

B. ESSEX.

To the worshipfull and my right wellbeloved John Say Esquier.

LETTER IX.

King Edward IVth to Dr. Alexander Legh his Almoner, and ambassador in Scotland, A. D. 1477.

[MS. COTTON. VESP. C. XVI. fol. 121. *Orig.* SIGNED WITH THE KING'S INITIALS AT THE BEGINNING AND END.]

R. E.

MAISTRE Legh, where as our brother and cousin the King of Scotts desireth a mariage to be had betwixt our brother of Clarence and a sustre of the said King of Scotts; and another mariage also, to be had between our sustre the duchesse of Bourgonne and the Duc of Albany his brothr': Ye shal say, that for somoch as this desir procedeth of his entier love and af-

fection anempst[a] us, we thanke hym as hertily as we can: and forsomoch also as aftre the old usaiges of this our Royaume noon estat ne person honnorable communeth of mariage within the yere of their doole[b], we therffor as yit can not conveniently speke in this matier. Natheles when we shal finde tyme covenable[c] we shall feel their disposicions, and thereuppon shewe vnto hym the same in all goodely hast.

Item, whereas we have other tymes addressed our Lettres missiues vnto Robert Conestable for restitucion of the goods of Thomas Yare, we nowe have sent for hym by priue Seal to come vnto vs in his own person, and to shewe cause why the said restitucion is not doon.

Item in the matier concernyng the robbery of the tenaunts of Sir John Carlill and other of th' obeissance of our said brother King of Scotts, ye shal say that we have written vnto our brother the Duc of Gloucestre, wardeyn of our West Marches, that he shal see due reformacion to be had according to right and custome of the said Marches.

R. E.

[a] anent, concerning.

[b] Margaret duchess of Burgundy had recently become a widow. Her husband, Charles the hardy, was killed in battle Jan. 5th, 1477.

This custom, of a widow not marrying again till a year has elapsed, is of very high antiquity; and was not confined to England. It is enjoined both in the Saxon and the Longobardic Laws. The notice of a forfeiture of property on this account occurs once in the Domesday Survey.

[c] convenient, suitable.

LETTER X.

King Henry the VIIth. to the Earl of Ormond.

[MS. COTTON. TITUS B. XI. fol. 24 b. *Orig.*]

*** "Who was Perkin Warbeck," is a question which the English Annals cannot resolve.

Lord Orford, when he wrote his Historic Doubts, thought that if diligent search was to be made in the public Offices and Convents of the Flemish Towns in which the Duchess Margaret resided, new light might be gained to this part of our History: and something it is possible may even yet be found in Ireland, if any ancient papers exist with the family of the Fitzgeralds; for Perkin Warbeck is believed to have presented at least a satisfactory Account of his birth and condition at his first landing in that country, to the Earls of Desmond and Kildare.

The Letters here presented to the reader concerning Perkin Warbeck, nine in number, relate to his movements only. The first was written by King Henry the Seventh, apparently upon the arrival of the news of Perkin's landing in Ireland in 1492. The second Letter, from the King to Sir Gilbert Talbot, seems to have been penned in 1495, after Henry pretended that he had traced Perkin's history. It is remarkable that in this Letter the King asserts that Perkin, when he went first to Ireland, passed himself off in no less than three different characters: an anecdote which cannot be believed, as it must, of itself, have been fatal to his cause. The two succeeding Letters are from John Ramsay Lord Bothwell whom Henry employed, in 1496, as a spy at the Court of James the Fourth. The remaining Letters, partly from the King, concern the last landing, and the defeat of Perkin at Exeter. They accompany his flight to Taunton. His subsequent catastrophe is sufficiently known.

(The King's Monogram.)

By the King.

RIGHT trusty and right welbeloved Cousin we greete you wele, and have tidings that our Rebelles landed

the vth daye of this Moneth in our land of Irland[a]. Wherfore, and forasmoche as we have sent for our derrest wif and for our derrest moder to come unto us, and that we wold have your advis and counsail also in soche matiers as we have to doo for the subduyng of our said Rebelles, we praie you that, yeving your due attendaunce uppon our said derrest wif and lady moder, ye come with thaym unto us; not failing herof as ye purpose to doo us plaisir. Yeven undre our Signett at our Castell of Kenelworth the xiij daye of Maye.

To our right trustie and right welbeloved Cousin Th'erl of Ormond, Chamberlan to our derrest Wif the Quene.

LETTER XI.

King Henry the VIIth. to Sir Gilbert Talbot, knight.

[FROM THE ARCHIVES OF THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY. *Orig.*]

H.R. By the King.

TRUSTY and welbeloved we grete you wele. And not forgeting the grete malice that the lady Margarete

[a] The ready support which Perkin Warbeck received at his first landing in Ireland from the wilder inhabitants of that country, is particularly noticed by Bernard Andreas, the poet-laureate and historiographer of Henry the Seventh, who was also the preceptor of Prince Arthur. In his History, which still remains in manuscript only, noticing Perkin's recall from France by Margaret, he says "JUNONE illum revocante, in Flandriam profectus est. Post in Hyberniam coronationis gratia prospero vento delatus, magnam barbarorum illius insulæ partem suis calidissimis subornavit tractationibus." MS. Cotton. Domit. A. xviii. fol. 210.

of Burgoigne bereth contynuelly against us, as she shewed lately in sending hider of a fayned boye[a], surmising him to have been the son of the Duc of Clarence, and caused him to bee accompanyed with Th'erl of Lincoln, the Lord Lovel, and with a grete multitude of Irisshemen and of Almains, whoes end blessed bee God was as ye knowe wele. And forseing nowe the perseverance of the same her malice, by th'untrue contriving eftsones of an othr fayned lad called Perkin Warbek, born at Tournay in Picardy, which at his furst into Irland called himself the bastard son of king Richard; after that the son of the said Duc of Clarence; and now the secund son of our fadre King Edward the iiijth, whom God assoille; werethorough she entendeth by promising unto the Flemynges and othr of Th'archedukes obeissaunce, to whom she laboureth dailly to take her way, and, by hir promes to c'tain aliens Capitains of estrange nacions, to have Duchies, Counties, Baronies, and othr landes within this our Royaume to induce theim therby to lande her[b] to the distruction and disinheritaunce of the noble men and other our subgiettes thinhabitantes of the same, and finally to the subversion of this our Royaume in cas she may atteigne to her malicious propos that God defende. We therfor, and to thentent that we may be alway purveied and in aredynes to resiste her malice, write unto you at this tyme; and wol and desire you that prepairing on

[a] Lambert Simnell. [b] here.

horsbak, defensibly arraied, four score personnes, wherof we desire you to make asmany speres with their custrelles[a] and di. lances[b] wele horsed as ye can furnisshe, and the remaynder to bee archers and billes, ye bee thoroughly appointed and redy to comme upon a day warnyng for to do us service of warre in this caas. And ye shalhave for every horsman wele and defensibly arrayed, that is to say for a spere and his custrel[a] xij^{d}. a di. lance ix^{d}. and an archer or bille on horsback viij^{d}. by the day, from the tyme of zour commyng out unto the tyme of your retourne to your home again. And thus doing ye shall deserve suche thankes of us for your loving and true acquitaill in that behalf as shalbe to your weale and honor for tyme to come. We praye you herein ye wol make suche delegens as that ye be redy with your said nombre to come unto us uppon any our sodein warnyng. Yeven undr our Signet at oure Castel of Kenilworth the xx. day of July.

To oure trusty and welbeloved Knight
and Conseillor Sir Gilbert Talbot.

[a] custrel; the servant of a man at arms. Fr. *coustillier*.

[b] demi-lances.

LETTER XII.

Lord Bothwell to K. Henry VIIth, A. D. 1496.

[MS. COTTON. VESP. C. XVI. fol. 154. *Orig.*]

*** Lord Bacon, to use his own words, "had much light for the furnishing of his History" from the Cottonian Manuscripts: yet the two Letters of Ramsay Lord Bothwell, which immediately follow, quite escaped his notice.

The History of this man, and his connexion with Henry the Seventh, are too important to be omitted here. He was the son of John Ramsay of Corstoun, and was descended from the House of Carnock of Fife. His genius and accomplishments recommended him to the notice of King James the Third, and he was the only one of the favourites of that Monarch who escaped the memorable execution at Lauder in 1482; owing his safety to his clasping the person of his sovereign, and jumping behind him on horseback. James the Third bestowed upon him the lands, barony, and lordship of Bothwell in 1484, by which title he sat in the Scottish Parliament as a Peer. He was ambassador to England in 1486, and again in 1488. His attachment to his master, however, occasioned his proscription; and his title and estates were pronounced forfeited in the Parliament which King James the Fourth held at Edinburgh Oct. 8th, 1488; after which the Lordship of Bothwell was conferred on Patrick Lord Hales who was created Earl of Bothwell. Ramsay Lord Bothwell now took refuge in England. In 1491, he and Sir Thomas Todde entered into an Indenture with king Henry the Seventh by which it was agreed that James Earl of Buchan and Sir Thomas Todde should deliver King James the Fourth and his brother the Duke of Ross prisoners into King Henry's hands: in expectation of which service King Henry advanced in loan, upon security, the penurious sum of £266 13*s.* 4*d.* The Instrument which records this transaction was unknown even to the Scottish historians till Rymer published it in 1711 [a].

The exact time of Ramsay Lord Bothwell obtaining permission to return to the Scottish Court is not stated. He was probably at first admitted to return on sufferance, as his remission and rehabilitation under the Great Seal of Scotland was not obtained till April 18th 1497. James the Fourth appears to have had no knowledge of his having acted as a Spy for Henry the Seventh. The title and estates of Bothwell had been granted

[a] Rym. Fœd. tom. iv. p. 29.

away; but, at successive times he was rewarded with various lands, and on May 13th 1510 had the free barony of Balmain granted to him and his heirs. He died in 1513[a].

PLEAISE zour Graice anet'[b] ye mater yat master Wyot laid to me I have ben besy about it, and my lord of Boughcan takis apon hym ye fulfilling of it, gyf it be possible; and thinks best now in yis lang nyt within his tent to enterprise ye mater; for he has na wach bot ye Kings apoinctit to be about him; and yai have ordanit ye Inglismen and strangers to be at an oder quartar lngt bot afew about him. I pnt'[c] my Lord zour Letter of ye quhilk he was full glaid and weill contentit.

I past to Santandr[d] and commonit at lenght with ye kings broder, and gaff him ye cros bow. He commends his servis humbly to zour Graice, and sayes he intendis to do zour Grace serves, and will not, for ought ye King can do, cum to yis ost[e] aganis zour Graice. And now my lord of Mrray pass' o' to him gyff ye King cummis to yis Jornay, as I dout not he will, in contrar his barronr'[f] willis and all his hail peplen, and my Lord will solist yis zoung Prince to cum to zour Graice.

Sr, I ondirstand, ye xxviii day of August, yar com a man out of Carlell to Perkin, and eftir Perkin brought him in to ye King I remanit to ondirstand ye mater. I was informit secretely yat yis man sould have cummyn

[a] See Douglas's Peerage of Scotland, ed. 1813. vol. i. p. 221. [b] anent, concerning. [c] presented. [d] St. Andrews. [e] host. [f] baronry.

fra Randell of Dacre, broder to ye lord Dacre, and fra the Sceltonis for mekyll Scelton yat is her had ye convoyanc of him.

Sr, ondoutitly thir Northumbirland men commonys schrevitly [a] at dayis of meting, and at dayis secretly apoinctit betwix yam and Scottsmen; and evere day throw yam yir [b] vagabunds escapis, cummyn to Perkin; and sundry w'tings [c] cummys; and now newlinge an [d] Hatfeld yat was wonnt dwell with my lord of Oxinfurd, and he tellis mony tydings.

Sr, sen it is yat ye King of Scotts will in no wyse be inclinit to ye gud of peax nor amyte, without he haf his mynd fulfillit efter our last commonyng with my lord of Duresme in Berwick, I trast verraly zour Graice sall have zour intent sa zour sudgetts her indevor yam well, for surly yis Jornay ye king intends to mak, is contrar ye will of ye haill pepill, and yai ar not well apoinctit therfor, and will zour Grace send bot douxen [e] Chyftains [f] and men of autorite to reulle, I dout not, with ye fok [g] yat ar her, zour Grace sall have ye best daywerk of zour inemys y' ony King of Englond had yis jC [h]. zers.

Sr, I have shewin ye King of Scotts yis band of ye erle of Deschemonds, and he will scarsly beleve it. And now I send it to zour Grace agan be this berar.

Zour humble JHONE

L. BOTHUAILLE.

[a] shrewdly. [b] their. [c] writings. [d] one.
[e] a dozen. [f] chieftains. [g] folk. [h] hundred.

LETTER XIII.

Lord Bothwell to King Henry VIIth, A. D. 1496.

[MS. COTTON. VESP. C. XVI. fol. 152. *Orig.*]

SCHIR, I commend my servis humbly to zour Hight nes, and all this lang tyme I have remaint ondir respit and assurans within ye realm of Scotland, and mast in ye court about ye King, geven[a] attendans and making lauboris to do zour Graice ye best serves I can, and has full oft tymes solist ye Kings hightnes and all ye weill avisit lordes of his Realm to lef ye favor and supports ya[b] geve to yis fenyt boy, and stand in amyte and gud love and peax with zour hightnes, to ye quhilk ye King in his ansurs and wourdis sayis alwayis he wald erest[c] sa he myt have sic things concludit as my lord of Duresme com for; an gyf yat be not, I ondirstand without dout yis instant xv. day of September the King, with all ye haill[d] peple of his realm he can mak, wilbe at Ellam kyrk within x. myll of ye marchis of England, and Perkin and his company with hym; the quhilk ar now in noum' xiiijC. of all maner of acionis[e]; and without question has now concludit to enter within yis zour Realm ye xvij. day of ye sam monetht in ye quarrell of yis said fenit boy, notwithstanding it is agens ye mynds of nerrest ye hall[f]

[a] giving. [b] they. [c] first. [d] whole. [e] nations. [f] whole.

noum' of his barronr' and peple, ba[t][a] for ye danger y[t] y'of[b] myght follow, and for ye inconvenience of ye ceaison[c]; notwithstanding yis sempill woulfulnes can not be removit out of ye Kings mynd for na persuasion nor mean, I trast verraly, that God will he be punyst be zour mean, for ye cruell consent of ye mourdir of his fadyr.

Sr, ye secund day of September ye King send for his lords y[t] war nerrest about hym, and causit yam to pas in ye chambre of counsall, and thareftir callit Perkyn to yam, and yai laid mony desiris to him ba[t] anent ye restorance of ye vij Hesdomis[d], ye deliuerie of ye castell and toune of Bervek, and also for ye listing of ye kings arme, and for charges maid apone him and his company to bind him to pay jC. thousand marks within v. zers efter his entre. To yis askit he delay quhill ye morne; and on ye morn enterit he in ye counsall and touk with him Sir George Nevall, Lovnd ye prest, and Herron, and efter lang commonyng has bound him to deliver Bervik, and to pay for ye costs maid on him fyfty thousand marks in tua zers, and yus is yis takin up in wryting.

Alsa I past to Santandr' with ye King and yar saw ye rassavyng of ye lord Conquersalt[e], and I did sa mekle yat ba[t] I red his letter and credence, ye quhilks

[a] both. [b] that thereof. [c] season. [d] "Sherifflomis." Pinkert.
[e] The lord Conquersalt had been captain of the guard of honor assigned to Perkin Warbeck by the King of France in 1493. See Hall, p. 463. Stowe, Annales, p. 476.

war ryght thankfully wretin, bering in effect how ye king of Franc ondirstud yat yar[a] was ingenering[b] a great apperans of debat betwixt zour Hightnes and ye king of Scotts, and how y[t] he of consideracion thar of, had send ye lord Conquersalt to ondirstand ye Kings mynd and ye occasions of ye sammyn, quhidder zour Grace or the said King of Scotts war in ye falt; and becaus of ye tendernes of blud and also ye tendir amyte he stands in with zou ba', he prayit ye King y[t] he myt be anonper[c] betuix zu to set zu at concord, for he onderstud be zour writings send be Richmound and Gyenis yt mekell of this onkyndnes movit of ye party of ye king of Scotts. And efter yis ye king past to counsaill and touk ye lord Conquersalt and sheu how it was all movit on ye party of England, and how he had lost sa mony schippis, sa great herschippis of cattall on ye bordors; and efter yis ye lord Conquersalt was bot right soft in ye solistacion of yis peax, and to myn apperance maid bot litill diligens herin, saying to my selff, efter I desirit him to mak diligens, it was no wounder zo[t] ye king war sterrit to onkyndnes.

Fordir I have sought out of yis said lord Conquersalt, and ondirstande werraly[d], he has laid to ye King to have yis said Perkin send in to France; and he sall mak myance[e] ye king of Scotts sall have for him jC. thousand crounis, and zit lauboris apone ye sammyn. This I knaw for certan, to quhat purpos I ondirstand

[a] there. [b] engendering. [c] an umpire. [d] verily. [e] means.

not, bot I wait[a] well ye lord Conquersalt show me ye king of Franc wald not ye King maryt[b] with zour Grace; alsoo he schow me how great inquesicion was maid to onderstand of Perkins byrthe ba[t] be ye admirall and him; and than I schew him ye Wryting I had of Meautes, and he planly said he nevir onderstud it bot rather trouit[c] ye contrary, and I think his cummyn hudyr[d] has don bot litill gud, for he and ye boye ar everie day in counsaill.

Sr, zo[t] yis be prevy, and zo[t] he be my cuntreman, I beand zour servand, I welbot schew ye treucht; and ford'[e] I sall schew zour Grace at my cummyn.

Sr, I wrait how Sr George Nevill and his complices war bondid befor my lord of Murray and me; and anon efter I gat zour last wryting to yat effect I assayit ye said Sr George and he ansuerit me yat he was inclinit to be at ye commandement of the King of Scotts, and gyf zour Grace and he agreit he sould tharin quyt him of Perkin; and now yai stand in anew counsort; and yus I will not schew zour wryting, bot I dout not he and all ye remanent will repent it; but surly in ye counsaill he desirit yis Dyet sould be put of[f] quhill ye next somer, & y[t] he said me was for ye pleasor of zour Grace; and I answerit him ze karit not for his pleasor or displeasor.

Sr, and it be not yat zour Grace pas in agrement with ye King of Scotts, as me semes ze neid litill, and zour

[a] wot. [b] marred. [c] trowed. [d] hither. [e] farther. [f] off.

Graice ondirstud all things, I dout not ye zoung aventurusnes of ye King will ba[t] joupert[a] himselff, ye boy, and all his peple: and will zour graice do apart of my sempill avertisment I dout not yar Journay salbe repentit in to Scotland yis hundret zer to cum: and be God him selff yar sal be na he in England sall mar[b] willingly nor treuly help yarto, becaus I find him sa fer out of reason, and sa litill inclinit to gudnes, bot all to traublen and cruelte without his wilbe fulfillit in all poincts, and wat he avis weill snybbit[c], he wald be ye better avisit quhill he leuit[d].

Sr, king Edward had never fully ye perfit love of his peplen quhill he had wer off Scotland; and he mad sa gud diligence and provision tharin, that to yis our[e] he is lovit: and zour Grace may als well, and has als gud atyme as he had; for I tak on me ye King of Scotts had not a C. pounds quhill now y[t] he has cunzet[f] his chenys, his plat, and his copbords; and yar was nevir pepill wars[g] content of ye kings guvernans yan yai ar now. Notwithstanding I have ben sa lang and desirusly inclinit to ye amyte, now seing ye falt in ye king of Scotts, I salbe als willing to do ye contrar; and, cum it to apruff[h], yar vill meny be contrar his opunion. Thar is mony of his faderis servants wald se a ramedy of ye ded[i] of his fadyr zit[k].

Please your Graice to send me wourd quhat serves

[a] jeopard. [b] more. [c] snubbed. [d] till he leave it. [e] hour.
[f] coined. [g] worse. [h] a proof. [i] deed. [k] yet.

or oder thing I sall do, for I salbe redy to do zour commandements at my power; and now Is cum[a] in within zour Realm to avait opon zour Grace or on quhom zour Grace will apoinct me; and I sall not faill be Godds grace in yis besinis to do gud and exceptable serves, and yar salbe na preve thing don, noudyr about ye King nor in his ost, bot zour Grace sall have knaulage tharof; and that that is trew and onfenit, for I have stablesit sic myance[b] or I departit.

Sr, her is cummyn out of Flandrs Rodyk de la Lane with twa litill schippis and iij^{xx}. off Almans. I stud by quhen ye King ressavit him in presence of Perkin; and thus he said in Franch. "Sr, I am cummyn her according to my promys, to do zour Hightnes servis, and for non oder mans saik am I cum her, for and I had not had zour letters of warand I had ben arrestit in Flandrs, and put to great trouble for Perkins sak;" and he com not ner Perkin; and than cam Perkin to him, and he salut him and askit how his Ant did; and he said "well"; and he inquirit gyf he had ony letters fra hir to him, and he sad he durst bring nan, bot he had to ye King. And surly he has brought ye king sundry pleasant things for ye wer[c], ba[t] for man and hors.

Sr, and zour Graice have agud[d] army on ye see, ze my[t] do agreat act, for all ye schipmen and inhabitants [of] ye havin towns pass with ye king beland and yus my[t] all thar navy be distroyit and havin touns brynt.

[a] I am come. [b] means. [c] war. [d] a good.

I past in ye Castell of Edinburght, and saw ye provision of Ordinance, ye quhilk is bot litill, that is to say ij. great curtaldis[a] y^t war send out of France, x. falconis or litill serpentinis[b], xxx. cart gunnis of irne with chawmeris[c], and xvi. clos carts for spers, powder, stanis[d], and odir stuf to yir gunnis longin.

Sr, I dout na thing, bot gyf thar folkis at yar entre within iiij or v nyghts be so wery for waching and for lak of wetallis[e] yat ya sall call on ye king to ratorne hame, and yus ratornyng ya sall not be foughten withall. That it wald pleas zour Grace efter yar entre in England y^t ye folkis of Northumbreland and ye byschoprek rate it to ye hed of Northumbreland westwart, and sa com northwart, noght streight apon ye Scotts ost, bot sydlings, quhill yai war ba^t elyk[f] northt and southt apon yam; and yan I wald yir said folks fell in on yar bakks, and befor yame to encounter yam ye power of Zorkschir; and yus gyf yai oudyr[g] ret'it or fled abak, ya myt not escap bot be foughtin with all, for considering yis lang ny^t and ye great baggage and cariags, xxM. men war als sufficient as jC. thousand: and yir folks behind yam wald put yam to agrettar affray yan twys samony[h] effor yam. Sr, I have herd the disputacionis of my cuntremen, and yarfor I wryt yis clause. Fordyr ye holy T'nite manten zour honor

[a] These, as their name imports, were short pieces of ordnance. [b] small artillery. [c] chambers. [d] stones used as cannon-balls. [e] victuals. [f] alike. [g] either. [h] so many.

and estat in eternall felicite. W'tin at Bervek ye viij day of Septembre.

Zour humble JHONE

L. BOTHUAILLE.

To ye Kings Hightness.

LETTER XIV.

Second Letter of King Henry the VIIth to Sir Gilbert Talbot. A. D. 1497.

[FROM THE ARCHIVES OF THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY. *Orig.*]

H. R. By the King.

TRUSTY and welbeloved we grete you wele, signifying unto you that wher as Perkin Warbek and his wif were lately sette ful porely to the See by the King of Scottes, and aftre that landed within our land of Irland in the wylde Irissherie, where he had be taken by our Cousins Th'erls of Kildare and of Desmond if he and his said wif had not secretly stollen away. The same Perkyn being soe upon the See, is commen to land in our Countie of Cornewaille with ij. small shippes and a Breton prinse[a], wherupon we have sent

[a] *f.* pinnace.

our right trusty counseillour the lord Daubeney our chamberlayn by land toward thoes parties, to arredie our subgiettes for the subduyng of hym, and our right trusty counseillour the lord Broke, steward of our household, by water with our armee on the See now late retourned, to take the said Perkyn if he retorne agayn to the See. And we shall in our owne persone, if the case soo requir, goo soe accompanyed thiderward with our lordes mercy withoute delay, as we shal subdue the said Perkyn and all othre that wil take his part if eny such be. And therfore we hertily pray you to addresse you unto us with six score talle men on horsback defensibly arrayed, and no moo, without eny long delay. And to mete with us at our manoir of Wodestok the xxiiijth day of this present Moneth; and at your commyng unto us we shal soe content you for your and thair conduyt money, and also wages, as of reason ye shal holde you pleased; and that ye faille not herof as our espesial trust is in you. Zeven undre[a] our Signet at our said Manoir the xijth day of Septembre."

"To our trusty and welbeloved knight
for our body Sir Gilbert Talbot."

[a] The word "undre" is repeated twice in the original.

LETTER XV.

King Henry VIIth to the Bishop of Bath and Wells.

[MS. DODSW. BIBL. BODL. vol. L. fol. 80.]

*** The bishop of Bath and Wells, at this time, was Dr. Oliver King, who had been translated from the See of Exeter in 1495. He is stated in his epitaph to have been secretary to Edward son of Henry the Sixth; and afterwards Secretary of State to King Edward the Fourth, King Richard the Third, and King Henry the Seventh. He died in 1503.

By the Kinge

RIGHT reverend father in God, right trusty and welbeloved wee greete yow well, and have received your wryteinge by the which wee conceive how there is word that Perkin is landed. Truth it is that hee is soe landed, and at[a] our Commons of Cornwall take his parte, amongst whom on Munday last the eighteenth day of September there was not one gentleman. On Sunday the seaventeenth of September, Perkin and his company came afore our Citty of Excester about one, after noone; and there inranged themselves in the manner of a battell by the space of two howers. Within that our Citty were our couzen of Devonshire, Sir William Courtney, Sir Jo. Sapcotes, Sir Piers Edgecombe, Sir Jo. Croker, Sir Walter Courteney, Sir Humfrey Fulforth, with many other noble men both of our Counties of Devonshire and Cornewall. This Perkin sent for to have deliverance of our said Citty, which was denyed

[a] that:

unto him by our said couzen. Whereupon Perkin and his company went to the East gate, and to the Norther gate, and assaulted the same, but it was soe defended (blessed bee God) that Perkin lost above three or foure hundred men of his company, and so failed of his intention. On the morrow after, the eighteenth day, Perkin and our rebels made a new assalt at the said Norther gate and Ester gate, like as by the Copy of the lettres from our said couzen of Devonshire inclosed yee shall move to understand more at large. The Perkin and his company, if they come forward, shall find before them our Chamberlayn, our Steward of Houshould, the Lord Saint Mourice, Sir John Cheney, and the Noblemen of Southwales and of our Counties of Gloster, Wiltshire, Hamshire, Somersett, and Dorcet; and at their backe the garison of our said City of Excester. And wee with our hoast royall shall not be farre, with the mercy of our Lord, for the finall conclusion of the matter. Wee have done proclaimed alsoo that who soe bringeth the said Perkin on live unto us hee shall have the some of a thousand marks, and all those that give theire offences first and last. Wee trust soone to heare good tydings of the said Perkin. Yeoven under our Signet at our Mannor of Woodstocke the twentith of September.

LETTER XVI.

The Earl of Devonshire to King Henry the VIIth.

[MS. DODSW. BIBL. BODL. vol. L. fol. 81.]

AFTER most humble recommendacion had unto your Grace, please it your Grace to knawe as I sent unto your Grace by myne other wryteinge of yesterday of the demininge of Perkin, and of diverse assaults made by his company unto the two gates of your Citty of Excester, and of the defence of the same. It may like your Grace to understand further, that this morninge, of new, the said Perkin and his company made fresh assaults upon the said two gates; and especially at the North gate, which was againe well and truly defended, and put Perkin from his purpose there; and your said Citty surely keped and shall bee to the behoofe of your Grace: in soe much as when Perkin and his company had well assaid and felt our Gunns, they were faine to desyre us to have lycence to geder theire company togeder, and soe to depart and leave your Citty, and to put us to noe more trouble; which because wee bee not able to recounter them, and that our company were weary and some hurt, therefore it was granted unto them that they should depart, and not to approch the Citty in noe wyse. And soe the said Perkin and his company bee departed from us this

day about eleven of the Clocke in the forenoone, and bee twelve were out of sight, and which way they would hould I cannot yet acertayne your Grace; But as it was said amongst them they would to Columpton this night, and thanked bee God there is none of your true subjects about this busines slayne, but diverse bee hurt. And doubt not againe, one of yours hurt, there is twenty of theires hurt and many slayne. And now I understand certainly that Perkin is to Columpton, and many of his company departed from him, and more will as I sell well, and trust verely that your Grace shall have good tydings of him shortly. From Excester this Munday, next the eighteenth of September.

LETTER XVII.

The King to . . . . . .

[MS. DODSW. BIBL. BODL. vol. L. fol. 81.]

By the King.

COUSEN trust for certaine that upon Thursday, about midnight, Perkin fled from his company at Tanton and tooke noe leave nor lycence of them; a good number of well horsed men bene after him in every quarter. From Knaresburgh the five and twentith of September.

LETTER XVIII.

The Bishop of Bath and Wells to Lord Carlisle.

[MS. DODSW. vol. L. fol. 81.]

My Lord

TRUST for certaine, and so the Kinge willed mee to wryte unto you for hast and because the Kinge is in greate busines, that on Thursday about midnight Perkin fled from his Company at the Towne of Tanton, and tooke noe leave nor licence of them; a good number of well horsed men bene after him in every quarter. And thus fare you well till more of these tydeings come unto you. At Woodstocke this morning the three and twentith day of September.

Quoth BATHON.

IN addition to these Letters, it may not be irrelevant to the subject of them to state, that, among the Rolls belonging to the Royal Collection of Manuscripts in the British Museum, the original Return of the Commissioners is still preserved, of the Fines which were levied in the Counties of Somerset, Dorset, Wilts, Hampshire and Devon, upon all persons of substance who either in Perkin Warbeck's last expedition, or in the Insurrection of the Cornish Men, had aided or favored the insurgents. Lord Bacon says that the levying of these Fines was extended even to persons who had comforted Perkin and his followers in their flight.

At the head we find the abbat of Athelney put down for a hundred marks; the abbat of Cliff for £40; the abbat of Ford, £60; the abbat of Michelney £60; and Sir John Spoke of Whitlakyngton £200. The Citizens of Taunton collectively paid £441 6*s*. 8*d*. One of them was assessed at £100; a few others, at £80, 40, 20, 15, and 10; and the rest, according to their means, as low as twenty shillings a piece. This last, indeed, seems to have been the fine of by far the greater number of persons

whose names appear upon the Roll. The town of Bridgewater paid £166. Thomas Champeneys Esq. of Frome paid £66 13*s*. 4*d*. The only person in the Hundred of Carhampton who paid, was Sir Hugh Luttrell of Dunster, and he was assessed at £200. Glaston paid £428. Kingsbury, with the town of Langport, £426 13*s*. 4*d*. The Town of Wells, the inhabitants of which are entered as they resided in the different streets, paid £313 13*s*. 4*d*. The vicar of Milborn Port paid ten marks. The fines from the goods of dead persons amounted to £123 13*s*. 4*d*.

The total gathered in the four Counties, with a part of Devonshire, amounted to £9665 10*s*. 0*d*. which, in the time of Henry the Seventh was no inconsiderable sum. Carte says, it was not raised without a general clamour at the severe and arbitrary proceedings of the Commissioners.

Some of the Rebels, however, appear to have been detained as prisoners, till King Henry came to Exeter.

The Rev. George Oliver, in answer to some Inquiries made by the editor of these Volumes at Exeter, says "I wish I was enabled to forward your researches on Perkin's siege: but the Episcopal Registers are silent on the subject; and in the Town archives I find nothing, unless in Hoker's Manuscript, where he says that Perkin appeared before it in September 1497 with ten thousand men; that he burnt North Gate, and actually forced an entrance into East Gate as far as Castle Lane, but was gallantly repulsed by the Citizens with great slaughter; that King Henry the Seventh arrived here in the winter of that year; and that several trees in St. Peter's close, between the North entrance of the Cathedral Church and the Treasury, were cut down, that the King "standing in the new window of Mr. Treasurer's house" might see the Rebels, who came bare-headed with halters about their necks before him, and cried out for mercy and pardon. The King addressed them in a short speech, and granted them his clemency, upon which they made a great shout, hurled away their halters, and cried 'God save the King'." Bernard Andreas, who has been already mentioned, in his panegyrical History of Henry the Seventh, MS. Cotton. Domit. A. XVIII. has given the substance of the King's speech in Latin.

LETTER XIX.

King Henry VIIth to Sir William Say.

[MS. COTTON. VESPAS. F. XIII. fol. 61. *Orig.*]

*** This Letter presents us with one of the latest instances of that barbarous state of Society, in which persons even of inferior rank to nobility called upon their vassals to attend them in settling their private feuds. Sir

William Say to whom it is addressed, was sheriff of Hertfordshire and Essex in the 22d Edw. IV. and 1st Ric. III. by the latter of whom he was knighted. Sir William Say had large possessions in Hertfordshire. His Seat was the manor of Basse in the parish of Hoddesdon in that County.

(The King's Monogram.) By the King.

TRUSTY and welbeloved, We grete you wele. And have herde to our great displeaser, that, for a certain variance and controversie depending betwix you on the oon partie and Sir John Fortescu on the othr, ye entende with unliefull[a] assembles and conventicles of our people to be at the Sessions next to be holden within our Countie of Hertford, to thaffraying of our Peas, and distourbance of the same Sessions, which we ne wold, in eschueing such trouble and inconvenients that by likelyhode might therupon ensue. Wherfore we write unto you at this tyme, commanding you in the straitest wise, that, leving the said assembles, ye forber to bee at the said Sessions, and neither doo ner procure to be doon any thing there, privately or apertely, repugnant to the equitie of our Lawes or rupture of our said Peas, at your uttermost perell. And also that immediately after the sight hereof ye addresse you unto our presence, to knowe our further mynde and pleasur in the premesses[b]. Lating you wite that we have writen in like wise herein to the said Sir John. Yeven under our Signet at our paloys of Westminster the xxiij day of February.

To our Trusty and welbeloved
Knight Sir William Say.

[a] unlawful. [b] premises.

LETTER XX.

Margaret Queen of Scotland to her father King Henry the VIIth

[MS. COTTON. VESP. F. XIII. fol. 61 b. *Orig.* THE LAST NINE LINES ONLY IN THE QUEEN'S HAND.]

*** The Ceremonies which accompanied the stately marriage of James the Fourth with Margaret Tudor in 1503, are too well known to need a comment here. Dunbar of Salton celebrated the Nuptials in an Allegory intitled "The Thistle and the Rose," which is still admired as one of the happiest efforts of Scottish Poetry.

Margaret, in plighting her faith to the Earl of Bothwell, the royal proxy at "The Fiancels," was made to say that, in contracting matrimony with James, she did it "wittingly and of deliberate mind, *having twelve years complete in age* in the month of November last past."

The following Letter must have been written very soon after her arrival at Edinburgh. The scene was new, and the young Queen unhappy.

Surrey, of whose hauteur she makes such strong complaint, was the nobleman whom Henry selected to accompany her to Scotland and present her to her husband. The same Surrey, as will hereafter be seen, defeated and slew him at Flodden.

My most dere lorde and fader in the most humble wyse that I can thynke I recummaund me unto your Grace besechyng you off your dayly blessyng, and that it will please you to yeve hartely thankes to all your servauntts the whych be your commaundement have geven ryght good attendaunce on me at this tyme, and specially to all thes ladies and jantilwomen which hath accompeneyed me hydder, and to geff credence to thys good lady the berar her off, for I have showde hyr mor off my mynd than I will wryght at thys tyme. Sir, I beseche your Grace to be good and gracious

lorde to Thomas, whych was footman to the Quene my moder, whos sowle God have soyle[a]; for he hath byn on[b] off my fotemen hydder with as great diligence and labur to hys great charge of his awne good and true mynde. I am not able to recumpence hym, except the favor off your Grace. Sir, as for newys I have none to send, but that my lorde of Surrey ys yn great favor with the Kyng her that he cannott forber the companey off hym no tyme off the day. He and the bichopp off Murrey orderth every thyng as nyght[c] as they can to the Kyngs pleasur. I pray God it may be for my por[d] hartts ease in tyme to come. They calnot[e] my Chamberlayne to them, whych I am sur wull speke better for my part than any off them that ben off that consell. And iff he speke any thyng for my cause my lord of Surrey hath such wordds unto hym that he dar speke no furder. God send me comford to hys pleasur, and that I and myne that ben lefftt her with me be well entretid such wayse as they have taken. For Godes sak Syr, oulde[f] mea escwsyd that I wryt not my sylf to your Grace, for I han no layfyr thys tym, bot wyt[g] a wishse I would I wer wyt[g] your Grace now, and many tyms mor, wan I wold andsyr. As for thys that I have wrytyn to your Grace, yt ys wery tru[h], bot I pray God I may fynd yt wel for my welef[i] erefter. No more to your Grace at this tym, bot our Lord han

[a] assoyle. [b] one. [c] nigh. [d] poor. [e] call not.
[f] hold. [g] with. [h] very true. [i] welfare.

you en ys kepyng. Wrytyn wyt the hand of your humble douter

MARGARET.

LETTER XXI.

King Henry the VIIth to his mother, Margaret Countess of Richmond.

[MS. HARL. 7039. fol. 34. FROM THE ARCHIVES OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE CAMBRIDGE.]

*** "Hereafter," says Baker from the College Register, "followeth the Letters of the most high and noble Prince Kyng Henre the Seventh, sende to the moste godly Princesse Margarete Countesse of Richmond and Derby, and Foundress of this College, by the reverend father in God John Fisher bishop of Rochester, then being Confessour to our said Foundress, for the alteration of her minde concerning the foundations to have been done in the Monastrye of Westmynster. And by the persuasions and counsell of the said reverend father, the said Princesse alter'd her minde, from the foundations in the said Monastery to the Foundation of Christs College in this University. The tenor of which Letters followeth worde by worde."

MADAM, my most enterely wilbeloved Lady and Moder, I recommende me unto you in the most humble and lauly wise that I can, beseeching you of your dayly and continuall blessings. By your Confessour the berrer I have reseived your good and most loving wryting, and by the same have herde at good leisure such credense as he would shewe unto me on your behalf, and thereupon have spedde him in every be halve withowte delai according to yowr noble petition

and desire, which restith in two principall poynts: the one for a generall pardon for all manner causes: the other is for to altre and chaunge part of a Lycense which I had gyven unto you before for to be put into mortmain at Westmynster; and now to be converted into the University of Cambridge for your Soule helthe, &c. All which thyngs according to your desire and plesure I have with all my herte and goode wille giffen and graunted unto you. And my Dame, not onely in this but in all other thyngs that I may knowe should be to youre honour and plesure and weale of youre salle [a] I shall be as glad to plese you as youre herte can desire hit, and I knowe welle that I am as much bounden so to doe as any creture lyvyng, for the grete and singular moderly love and affection that hit hath plesed you at all tymes to ber towards me. Wherfore myne owen most lovyng moder, in my most herty manner I thank you, beseeching you of your goode contynuance in the same. And Madame, your said Confessour hath more over shewne unto me on youre behalve that ye of your goodnesse and kynde disposition have gyven and graunted unto me such title and intereste as ye have or ought to have in such debts and duties which is oweing and dew unto you in Fraunce by ye Frenche Kynge and others, wherfore Madame in my most herty and humble wise I thanke You. Howbeit I verrayly [think] hit will be ryght harde to recover hit

[a] soul.

without hit be dryven by compulsion and force, rather than by any true justice which is not yet al[a] we thynke any convenyant tyme to be put in execution. Nevertheless it hath plesed you to gyve us a good interest & meane if they woull not conforme thayme to rayson and good justice to diffende or offende at a convenyant tyme when the caas shall so require herafter. For such a chaunce may fall that thys your graunte might stande in grete stead for a recovery of our Right, and to make us free, wheras we be now bounde &c. And verrayly Madame, and I myht recover hit at this tyme or any other, Ye be sure ye shulde have your plesure therin, as I and all that God has given me is and shall ever [be] at youre will and commaundment, as I have instructed Master Fisher more largely herin, as I doubte not but he wolle declare unto you. And I beseeche you to sende me youre mynde and plesure in the same, which I shall be full glad to followe with Goddis grace, which sende and gyve unto you the full accomplyshment of all youre noble and vertuous desyrs. Written at Grenewiche the 17 day of July, with the hande of youre most humble and lovynge sonne

H. R.

After the wryting of thys Letter, your Confessour delyvered unto me such Letters and wrytings obligatory of your duties in Fraunce which hit hath plesed

[a] als, as.

you to sende unto me, which I have received by an Indenture of every parcell of ye same. Wherfore eftsoons in my most humble wise I thank you, and I purpose hereafter, at better leisure, to knowe youre mynde and plesure further therein. Madame I have encombred you now with thys my longe wrytings, but me thyngks that I can doo no less, considering that hit is so selden that I do wryte, wherfore I beseeche you to pardon me, for verrayly Madame my syghte is nothing so perfitt as it has ben; and I know well hit will appayre[a] dayly; wherfore I trust that you will not be displesed though I wryte not so often with myne owne hand, for on my fayth I have ben three dayes or I colde make an ende of this Letter.

To My Lady.

LETTER XXII.

Margaret mother of Henry the VIIth, to her Son; signing as Queen.

[MS. COTTON. VESP. F. XIII. fol. 60. *Orig.*]

My oune suet and most deere Kynge and all my worldly joy, yn as humble maner as y can thynke y recommand me to your Grace, and moste hertely be-

[a] impair.

seche our lord to blesse you; and my good herte wher that you sa[a] that the Frenshe Kyng hathe at thys tyme gevyn me courteyse answer and wretyn . . lettyre of favour to hys corte of Parlyment for the treve expedicyon of my mater whyche soo long hathe hangyd, the whyche y well know he dothe especially for your sake, for the whyche my . . . . . ly beseeche your Grace yt . . . . . to gyve hym your favourabyll . . . . . thanks and to desyr hym to contenew hys . . . yn . e . me . And, yeve yt soo myght leke[b] your Grace, to do the same to the Cardynall, whyche as I understond ys your feythfull trew and lovyng servant. Y wysse my very joy, as y efte have shewed, and y fortune to gete thys or eny parte therof, ther shall nedyr be that or eny good y have but yt shalbe yours, and at your comaundement as seurly and with as good a wyll as eny ye have yn your cofyrs, as wuld God ye cowd know yt as veryly as y thynke yt. But my der herte, y wull no more encombyr your Grace with ferder wrytyng yn thys matter, for y ame seure your chapeleyn and servante Doctour Whytston hathe shewed your Hyghnes the cyrcomstance of the same. And yeve yt soo may plese your Grace, y humbly beseche the same to yeve ferdyr credense also to thys berer. And Our Lord gyve you as longe good lyfe, helthe, and joy, as your moste nobyll herte can dessyre, with as herty blessyngs as our Lord hathe gevyn me power to

[a] say. [b] like.

gyve you. At Colynweston[a] the xiiij[th] day of January, by your feythfull trewe bedwoman, and humble modyr,

MARGARET R.

LETTER XXIII.

The Contents of the King's Lettres sent by His Grace to the Pope's Holynes, concernyng provision to be made to resiste the malicious disposicion of the grete Turke, enemy to the Cristen faith. An. 17 Hen. VIIth.

[MS. COTTON. CLEOP. E. III. fol. 150.]

*** Lord Bacon, who gives an extract of two or three lines only from the latter part of this Letter, in his History of Henry the Seventh, characterizes it as "more solemn than serious." In another place he says "and yet this Declaration of the King (as superficial as it was) gave him that reputation abroad, as he was not long after elected, by the Knights of Rhodes, Protector of their Order; all things multiplying to honour in a Prince that had gotten such high estimation for his wisdom and sufficiency." But the wisdom of Henry's character, as this Letter will show, was cunning.

FURST his Highnesse reherseth the contents of the Breve sent from our holie fader the Pope unto hym, bering date the third day of November last past, the which Breve the King's Grace receyved with suche reverence as be came hym to doo, and understode by the same Breve the greate parell that the commen

[a] In Northamptonshire.

welth of the Cristen feith by werre made by the said Turke stond in, and daily is like to stond in moore, yf short remedie be not provided.

And for provision in this behalf the Popes Holynesse hath named certeyn Legats to be sent to all Cristen Princis, and to cause suche Princes as be in dissencion, division, or variaunce, to be in love, peax [a], and unite, and suche peax [a] and unite had, the said Legats to entre communication and take conclusions with the said Princes, how and in what maner and fourme it shulde be best to withstond the said Turke.

And also that the said Legats, shulde have auctorite to publisshe jubilee, and to receyve subsidies and dismes in suche Roymes and Countrees as they shuld be sent to, by the which subsidies and dismes the Wer ayenst the Turk myght be maynteyned and contynued.

Also our holie fader the Pope sheweth in his Breve that he, of his goode mynde, with the uttermoost of his goods, and his brothern the Cardenalls in like wise with their goods, will doo all that in theym is to withstonde the malice of the said Turke; and, ferthermore in defence of the Cristen feith, ōur said holie fader the Pope, of his entire and blissed mynd, so that he may have assistence of the King of Spayne or the King of Fraunce in their persones, will goo in his owen propre person to oppresse the greate and moost cruell malice of the same Turke.

[a] peace.

Also the Pope writeth of the tripartite Warre that his Highnesse hath decreed and determyned ayenst the said Turk, and how the Hungaries, Boyams [a], and the Polans [b], the which shall make werre by land ayenst the said Turk, shall have ayde in money of the Princes of Italie and other that may not personally be in the said Warres, the whiche discrete ordinaunce and provision the King's Highnesse right well considereth, marketh, and commendeth.

Ferthermore the same our holy fader hath requyred and desired the Kings Grace, that, seing yf remedie be not had this wynter the Turke is like next somer to be in the parties of Italie to the subversion of Cristen feith, to call the Nobles of this lond to gidders [c] without delay, and to understand their mynde in this behalf. And the Pope is Holynesse thinketh it right according, that the King in his person, with Navy convenyent, yeve his assistence ayenst the Turke in his partie, and desireth the Kings Grace to be certified spedely, when, in persone, with what Navy, and in to what place he will applie.

Here begynneth the King's aunswer to the Contents of the Pope's Breve.

THE Contents of the Premisses considered, the Kings Grace hath be, is, and allway wilbe as sorie as any Cristen Prince that the Turke shuld eny thing

[a] Bohemians. [b] Polanders. [c] together.

attempt ayenst the Cristen Religion, and willeth and desireth as moche as any Cristen Prince, that the same Turke may be so at this tyme withstand, rebuked, and punysshed, that he ne noon of his successours shall dare hereafter so temerously any thyng attempt ayenst the Cristen feith. The King considering that the malice of the Turke and jeoperdie of the Cristen feith is at hand, gretely commendeth the singular wisdom of our holy fadre the Pope, in causyng peax [a] and unitie to be made amongs the Cristen Princes which be at discention and division, which discencions and divisions hath yeven the Turke greate boldnesse to attempt the Warre ayenst the same Cristen feith. Albe it the Kings Grace is, and of long tyme hath be, thanked be God, at peax [a] with all Cristen Princes.

Ferthermore the King's Grace considering that the Pope, in his owen person, having the assistence of the King of Fraunce or the King of Spayne, entendeth to goo ayenst the said Turke and to jeopard his lif, thinketh his highnes worthy grete thanks of God and man; for asmoche as he had lever offer hym self to the jeoperdie of werre to suffre deth, then to see the Cristen feith in jeopardie, in that following thexample of Criste whos place he occupieth here in erthe. And sorie the King's Highnesse is that he, seing the distaunce of his Reyme from thos parties may not con-

[a] peace.

veniently with his Navy and power, in so holy a purpose, yeve assistence according to his mynde.

Also the Kings Grace gretely commendeth his two Cosyns, Kings of Fraunce and Spayne, and specyally hym that will yeve personall assistence unto the Popes Holynesse in this behalf. And it is to be thought that oon of them myght yeve better assistence in this cause then eny other Prince, seing that they both have navies, maisters, and mariners knowing the jeopardies of thos sees, and accustumed to saille to thos parties, and more expert then the subjects of any other Princes being in further parties, and not accustumed to sail to thos parties. And also that the assistence of thos ij. Princes may be yeven with lesse than half the charge of other Princes may, being in further parties.

Item, Warre to be made by lond by the Germayne's, Hungaries, Boyams[a], and Polons[b] ayenst the said Turke, the Kings Grace greatly commendeth, seing that they be best acqueynted and expert in faicts of werre and fraudis of the said Turkes, and also be nygh unto theym and may doo to theym moche noiaunce, and with lesse coste and charge then other nacions.

And where the Popes Holynesse desireth to know the Kings mynde, with what Navie, and at what tyme he will personally come to resiste the said Turks malice,

[a] Bohemians. [b] Polanders.

The Kings Grace sheweth that he hath as goode zele and love to the diffence of the Cristen feith as any Prince lyvyng: and, according to the tenour of the Popes brief hath called the nobles of this land, aswell spirituell as temporall, being of his Counseil in this behalf, the which Counsaillours after long communicacion and greate resonyng, thought that if the King shulde send any help or Navy by the See it shulde litle prouffite, considering the ferre distance of thos parties so to be besegied, troubled, or obsessed by the said Turke; and also the Englisshe maryners have not ben accustumed to sail any forther but to Pyses which is not half the Jorney for it is vj. or vij. monethes sailyng from Pises to thos parties where they myght do the Turke any noyance; and so all the cost doon by See shulde litle or nothing proficte in this behalf.

Item, the said Counseillours say that the Galees commyng from Vennes towards England be commonly vij. monethes sailyng, and som tyme more. Also they say that if soo be the King shuld send from his Royame his Navie by the see, the men being in the same shuld nede twise or thries vitailling or they shuld come where they shuld applie, and yet then peradventure they shuld applie where no socour wold be had. And also the said shippes myght be sore troubled with contrarie wyndes, so that they shuld not com to doo any goode in this greate cause: and also considering the greate stormes and perilles of the see

which comonly fortune and happe, and parteth shippes and driveth theym to severall coosts, and twiseth theym often tymes to perisshe, and soo there shuld be grete costs and chargies doon by the King, and yet noo noysaunce therby doon to the said Turk.

Yf ther shulde be any noumbre of Shippes and men, and suche as were according to the Kings honour, sent for the said expedicion, yet considering the distance of his Rialme and the nyghnes of their Roialmes, the Kings costs and charges, albe it thei shuld be very large, shuld appere ferre lesse then the chargies of the other princes being nerer thos parties, the which myght with ferre lesse cost send ten thousand then the Kings Grace two thousand.

Item, if the King shuld prepaire capitaignes and other men of warre, and apparaill, and habilyments, and necessaries to the said Shippes, it shuld be May, whatsoever diligence were doon on the Kings partie, or they should be readie to saill: and it shuld be the last ende of Septembr or the said Shippes shuld passe the streits of Marrok[a]; and grete difficultie to fynde any maryners hable to take the rule and governance of the said Shippes sailyng into so jeoperdous and ferre parties. The premisses considered it is hard and almost not faisible to send any Navy thidder for any profict by theym to be doon therin.

The Kings Highnesse gretly soroweth, and moore

[a] Morocco.

then he can expresse, that in so laudable and holy Expedicion he can not yeve the Popes Holynes so proficlable assistence by the See as his mynde is, thinking that for warre to be made by the see, oonly oon Prince heede ruler and governor of grete auctorite, power, name, dignite, police[a], and wisdom is to be adjoyned to the Popes Holynesse in this behalve, to the which Prince all other Princes, after according and convenient rates in this behalve may be contributorie: and best it were to have not many rulers and governours; for where be many hedes and governours, oftentymes ther is moche distance, divisions, and debats.

And yf it should please his Cosyn the King of France, or his Cousyn and affyne[b] the King of Spayne, to take the charge of soo holy an Expedicion, considering the commodities of Ports, Navies, and vitaill which the said Princes have plentie of, and the nerenes of dyvers Isles unto the said Turkes, ther is no Prince so convenient as oon of the said Princes.

And to that Prince of the said Princes that will take upon hym and with effect and good diligence will resiste the said Turke, the King both with men and money metely and conveniently for his partie wol yeve assistence, other Princes, not personally being present to the said Expedicion in likewise doeng their parte and being contributory. And also the King of

[a] policy. [b] relation.

Romayns, Hungry, Bohom, and Polon, in like maner effectually making Warre by land ayenst the said Turkes.

Furthermore yf nother of the said Kings of Fraunce and Spayne woll take upon hym the charge to yeve in propre person assistence to the Pope's Holyness, the King, for greate love, zele, and goode mynde that he bereth to the Religion of Cristes feith and to his Vicar here in erthe, seing that the Popes Holynes hath offred to goo ayenst the Turke in his owen person rather then his Holynesse shuld be left sole and destitute of assistence of other Cristen Princes, to the grete sclaunder and jeopardie of all Cristen feith, and to the note and reproche of Cristen Princes, the Kings Grace albe it that his[a] further from thos parties then other Princes be, and also that his costs by reason of suche fernesse shuld be gretter then other Princes shuld, yet, having a sufficient space to prepaire him self to soo long a Journey, is contented in his own propre persone, and with armye according, to take upon hym the said charge, to come personally and joyne with the Popes said Holynes yf the same Pope woll personally goo ayenst the said Turke. And the King, during the Werre, so to continue according to his rate.

Provided that the Popes Holynes shall assigne a certeigne and a sure Porte to the whiche the Kings Grace with his armye may comme and also shall pro-

[a] is.

vide sufficient Navy, maisters, and maryners, armours and habilitaments of warre and vitail, and all other necessarie thinges, to receyve the said King and al his people, and all his and their stuff and cariage, and for the contynuance of the same as long as the King and his army shall have nede therof.

Item, that the said Kings of Fraunce and Spayne and all other Princes cristened, which may not personally comme according to their states and dignitees, be in this behalf contributory, partilie in men, and partily in money. And also the Pope shal provide that the Kings Grace and all his Armee shall have sure and free Jorneyng and passing by all lordshipes, citees, townes, fortresses, castells and other places, whatsoever they be, and all maner of places to be oppen to the said King and his armee, and sufficiente vitail and other necessaries to be mynistred to the said Kyng and his Oste. And also that the Kyng of Romaynes with his armee by land, and the Kings of Hungry, Bohom, and Polon, according to the decre of the Popes Holynesse, begynne to warre ayenst the said Turk, and soo all the said Kings and eche of theym, with their sufficient armyes, contynue with effect in the said Warres, and in noo wise ceasse theym without expresse assent of the Popes Holynes and the Kings expresse consente.

Item, it is thought to the King necessarie that during the said Werre ayenst the Turke, all Cristen Princes put aparte divisions, discensions, debates, and warres,

and deferre theym unto odre tymes, and the moyne[a] tyme to surceasse of all assauts, injuries, [and] hostilities, and suerlie and feithfully keap peax[b] and concorde amongs theym self, the which thing cannot be doon but only by the Popes power and auctorite.

Item, the Kings Grace remembreth a clause in the Brief which the Popes Holynes sent to hym, wherin was conteyned that the Pope entended to send a Legate to dyvers Roialmes and Countrees for certen aides, jubilees, and dymes to be published, the which Legacie the Popes Holynesse for dyvers reasonable and urgent causes hath revoked, which revocacion the Kings Grace thinketh not unproufitable.

Item, whether the King for the said Expedicion in his person goo ayenst the said Turke, or be contributory to such Princis as shall goo, it is thought expedient that the Popes Holynesse comaund the said aide, jubilees, and dymes to be publisshed by his vicecollectour and other suche as shalbe deputed by hym in to this Roialme, which thing unto so greate a bourden and charge to be borne and mayntened shall not be a little proufitable.

Item, the Kings Grace trusteth that the Pope of his singuler wisdom will benignly admitte the Kings said causes and reasones as lawful, and his said Officers egallie[c] to ponder, and not to think the King in his behalf to seche[d] any colerable occasions or excuses, but

[a] mean. [b] peace. [c] equally. [d] seek.

to be as redie to the defense of Cristen faith as any Prince cristenned. And in this behalf nother to spare good, richesse, nor men, nor yet his own propre person yf it be nede, nother in noo wise it shall stond by the King asfer[a] as in hym lieth, but that this expedicion ayenst the said Turk, to the lande of God and holie Churche, and to the defence of the Universall feith shall procede with effecte, and so contynue till suche tyme as it shall pleas al myghty God to yeve the Victorie ayenst the Enmyes of his said Feith and Religion, and in this quarrell Cristes Baners to be spradde ayenst the said Turkes.

[a] as far.

LETTERS

OF

THE REIGN OF

HENRY THE EIGHTH.

A detailed Character of King Henry the Eighth would be misplaced here. Let it suffice to say that Fuller has ascribed to him both the virtues and the vices of all the Kings his predecessors from the Conquest; and that, in a greater or a less degree, most of these will be found developed in the Letters of Henry and his Courtiers.

Fox the martyrologist, bishop Burnet, Strype, and several other of our Historians, have made great use of the Letters written in this reign, as far as they relate to CHURCH HISTORY. These have, of course, been avoided in the present Collection. But an assemblage of some interest will be found in it, of such as illustrate detached parts of the CIVIL HISTORY of that period. In some of these Letters the magnificent manners of Henry's reign are depicted in glowing colours: in others, Henry's conversations with his ministers carry us, as it were, personally back to the very time in which they lived. A few unpublished Letters will also be found, in this part of the Collection, from the elegant pen of Sir Thomas More.

The PORTRAIT of HENRY THE EIGHTH which forms the Frontispiece of the present Volume, is taken from an Illumination in a Psalter which formerly belonged to him, now preserved among the Royal Manuscripts in the British Museum, MS. REG. 2 A. XVI. The King, in allusion to his great fondness for music, is represented in it playing on a harp; the figure in front, to his left, is that of Will Somers his jester.

This Psalter was written expressly for Henry the Eighth by John Mallard, who in the dedication calls himself "Regis Orator et a calamo." In the margin are numerous pencil notes in Henry's own hand.

There is another Illumination in this Psalter in which the King is likewise represented playing on a Harp in his chamber: but it has received much injury from time and the failure of the colours.

LETTER XXIV.

King James the Fourth of Scotland to King Henry the Eighth.

[MS. COTTON. VESP. F. III. fol. 36. *Orig.*]

*** The opening of the reign of Henry the Eighth seemed to afford a promise that the Amity which Henry the Seventh had taken such pains in his latter years to cement with Scotland, would continue undisturbed. The alliance indeed was ratified, and, as appears from the following Letter of James the Fourth, Henry had written once, at least, in a style of apparent affection with his own hand. This was probably before, or about, 1511: for, in that year, James, whose confidence in his brother-in-law seems to have been gradually declining, complained openly by his ambassadors, first of unkindness, and then of injustice.

EFTER owr mast[a] hartly recommendacion derrest broder and cosyng[b], We have ressauit zour lovyng Lettirs wirtyn[c] with zowr hand, quare throw we onderstand good and kynd hart ze bere on to us, of the quilk we ar rycht glade consideryng our tendernes of blode. God willyng we sal bere the sam good hart on to zow, the quilk ze sal parsave indeide, geve it plesur zow to scharg us, as knawith our Lord qua have zow in his kepyng. At our Abba of the Holy Croys the xj. da of Jun with the il hand of zowr Cossyng

JAMES R.

[a] most. [b] cousin. [c] written.

LETTER XXV.

Margaret Queen of Scotland to King Henry VIIIth.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. B. VI. fol. 74. *Orig.*]

*** The injustice which James the Fourth complained of on the part of Henry, was not confined to the affair of the Bartons. Henry the Seventh had left his daughter Margaret a valuable legacy of jewels; but it was withheld by Henry the Eighth.

In the Copy of King Henry the Seventh's Will published by Mr. Astle, no such legacy certainly occurs; but it is noticed in different papers and public documents, and there can be no doubt that such a bequest was made; though whether as supplementary to the Will, or by any verbal allotment, does not appear.

The Letter here introduced, in which affection and irony are most amusingly blended, is dated April the 11th, and from the comparison of it with Dr. West's despatches, must have been written in 1513. In a despatch to King Henry the Eighth, dated from Sterling April 1st that year, Dr. West, mentioning his conversation with Queen Margaret, after dinner on the Saturday preceding, says, "And therewith she asked if your Grace had send her Legacie, and I said yea, which I was redy to deliver her, soo that the Kyng wolde promyse to kepe the Treatie of peas; and she asked 'And not ells'? and I said no, for if he wolde make werr Your Grace wolde not only withholde that, but also take from theym the best Townes they hade. And or I had fully fynyshed this sentence, the Kyng came upon us, and soo we broke communication for that tyme." The Letter now before the Reader appears to have been the consequence of this Conversation.

RICHT excellennt, richt hie and mithty Prince, our derrest and best belovit Brothir, We commend ws unto zow in oure maist hertlie wise. Zoure ambassadoure Doctoure West deliverit ws zoure lovyng lettrez in 'quhiwis[a] ze schew ws that quhare ze harde of our seiknes ze tuke grete hevynes. Deerest brother We ar greitly rejosit that we se ze have respect to oure

[a] which.

disese, and thairfor We geve zou oure hartlie thankis, and zoure writing is to ws gude confort. We can nocht beleve that of zoure mynd or be zoure command we are sa friendly delt with in oure faderis Legacy, quharof we wald nocht have spokyn nor writing[a] had nocht the Doctoure now spokyn to ws of the sammyn in his credence. Oure husband knawis it is withhaldin for his saik, and will recompens ws safer[b] as the Doctoure schew him. We ar eschamit thairwith; and wald God nevir word had bene tharof. It is nocht worth sic estimacioun as is in zoure divers lettrez of the sammyn; and we lak na thing; our husband is evir the langer the better to ws, as knawis God, quha richt hie and michty Prince, oure derrest and bestbelovit brothir, have zou in governaunce. Geven under oure Signete at oure Palace of Linlithgw the xj day of Aprile.

To the richt excellennt richt hie and michty Prince oure derrest and best belovit brothir the King of England.

Your lowynn syster
MARGARET,

LETTER XXVI.

Dr. Nicholas West to King Henry the Eighth.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. B. VI. fol. 69. *Orig.*]

*** The following is the second of two Letters, still extant from Dr. Nicholas West, afterwards bishop of Ely, whom Henry the Eighth had

[a] written. [b] so far.

sent to Scotland in the hope of detaching James from the French interest. A short quotation from the first of these has been already given in the introduction to the preceding Letter. James, it is evident from the tenor of both, feared that his own fate would be consequent on any great overthrow of the French. The details which this Letter contains, of Dr. West's interviews with James the Fourth, and more particularly of the state of the only fleet which Scotland ever fitted out, will be read with interest.

PLEASE it yor Grace, Sir, on Saturday the second day of April the Kyng appointed to depeche me, and soo I purposed to have taken my leyf and departed if I had not receved zor moost honorable lettres dated at Grenewiche the xxvj. day of Marche last past, wherby I perceved your Grace's mynde was that I shulde make myn abode here till I had ascertaigned you by my writing of his resolute answer, which I have done by my last lettres. And albeit I have ever sithens sued diligently for my depeching, yet I coude never obtaign it, for they dryve me foorthe with words. I have also sued to see the minute of such lettres as he wold send to your Grace, and when I sawe theym there was never a worde in theym touching the keypyng of the Peas; but all words of unkyndenesse doon to hym by yor Grace and yor subgiets. And when I perceved his mynde I said I wolde beyr yor Grace no suche lettres, seyng that in theym there was no mencion of any thyng that touched my charge: wherfore I prayed hym that he wold declar his mynde, in writing, touching the kepyng of the peas, and he said that he wolde not, forsomuch as yor Grace said that

his worde and dede agreed not; therfore he wold write you no such words, but he wolde shewe you good deeds like as he had shewed me befor; and I said that I wold not depart with such writing, and bicause I knewe that he wolde be at Edinburghe on Monday next after, I said I wolde wayte upon his Grace ther, trusting that he wolde othrewise advyse hymself by that tyme; and the Secretorie advised me soo to do.

Item, Sonday I came to Edinburghe and immediately I wrote lettres to my Lord Dacre and to the Commissioners of the bordres shewyng theym in what state every thyng stode here; and how the Kyng wolde no way take but have justice. I sent theym also the copie of such clauses as wer in yor Graces last lettres touching their charges wherby they might understand yor pleasor^r^ and folowe the same.

Item on Monday bicause I had no businesse for a passe tyme I went down to Lyth[a] to thentent to see what shyps were prepared ther, and when I came thidre I found none but ix. or x. small topmen[b], amongest whom the shyp of Lynne was the byggest, and other small balyngiers[c] and crayers[d], and never one of all thies was rigged to the werr, but one little topman of the burdon of threscore tonne. And from

[a] Leith. [b] Ships with tops.

[c] Froissart and Walsingham both mention the species of ships called balangers: but the kind is not accurately described. A Manuscript in the Heralds' Office quoted in Jamieson's Etymological Dictionary mentions "Galées Horquées, *Ballinjers*, et autres." [d] A crayer, or crear, was a kind of bark, or lighter.

thens I went to the new haven, and ther lyeth the Margaret, a ship nighe of the burdon of the Cryst of Lynne, and many men workyng upon her, som setting on her mayn top and som calkyng her above water, for under water she was new talowed. Ther was also upon the stocks a litell galey in makyng, about fyfty fote longe as I suppose, which they said the Kyng made to rowe up and down upon the water to and from Strivilynge: ther is never a boorde yet upon her, nor never a man wrought upon her when I was ther. The same night the Kyng came to Edinburgh, and the next day, Tuysday, was all day at Lyth, and, as it was said, he commaunded Wylly Brounchyll to take his prisoners and goo to the borders and make redresse according to thappointment made bitwixt the Commissioners bifor, and soo that day I coude not speke with the Kyng.

Item, the same Tuyseday, bitwixt vj. and vij. of clok at night, I receved lettres from my Lord of Duresm contaignyng very good newes, which wer to me, and to all othre your trewe subgietts so joyous and comfortable that I can not expresse it. I received also from my said Lord of Duresm a copie of the Popes most honnorable and lovyng brief sent to your Grace.

Item, Wednesday at x. of the clok I went to Holyrode house, wher the Kyng herd masse in a chapell withoute any traverse[a], and ther I shewed hym

[a] A traverse was a retired seat with lattice-work.

your said good newes at lenght, and when he herd theym he said your Grace was fortunate that ye had such a Pope soo favourable to yor Highnesse, and that was entred the Lige. Howbeit I forbare at that tyme to shewe hym the clause of the confirmacion of th'acts doon by his predecessor agaynst hym and his realm in case he breyke with your Grace, till I may see determinately how he wole order hymself in every behalf toward yor Grace. And hence my small depeche in every thyng. And then, according to the same as I thynke it expedient, I wole make overture to hym of it, or ells concyle it still. And amongest othr communication he talked of his greate Shyp, for the which I made sute according to your Graces commandement; howbeit he aunswered as bifor, and then he said that she shott xvi pitts of greate ordenaunce on every syde; and that he had mor greate ordenaunce in her then the Frenshe Kyng ever had to the siege of any town; which me thought to be a greate crak. Moreover he said that De la Mote was taken by your subgietts, or ells he was with the Frenshe flete, for he was laden with biscuyte and bere, redy to com forthe when Jok a Barton came away, which is more than iij. wok ágoo. Finally I made sute to hym for my departing, prayeng hym to put his aunswer in writing, and he said he wolde cause the minute to be made at after none, and send it to me to loke upon it. Howbeit he did not soo, but dryveth me forthe till he may here tuydyngs by De

la Mote oute of Fraunce. Sir the buyscuyte and here that De la Mote bryngeth is to vitaill the greate Shyp and other. I praye God he be, or may be taken by the waye; for his takyng were worth to your Grace x. thousand marks; for by hym ye shuld knove all the secrets of the Kyng here.

Item, on Thursday I made sute likewise for my lettres and depeching, and I am driven forth as bifor. Also this day was caryed oute of the Castell to the water syde a greate piece of ordenaunce of iij. yerds longe and mor, unstocked, which shoteth a ston bygger then a greate peny lof as I am informed. I send to Lyth to know whyder she was caryed, and my messengier shewed me that she was layd upon the water syde, and v. smaller pieces mor to be layd in to the said Marguerite.

Item, Friday I made like sute for my depeching, and he aunswered me that the Secretorie shuld brynge the minute of my lettres at after none, and so he did, which contaigned almost nothing touching my charge, but complaynts and sharpe words of unkyndnesse, and then we fell in to debating of diverse matiers which wer to longe to write; but amongest othr thyngs he said that the last Brief sent to the Kyng his maister from the late Pope Julius, hath doon more harm touching kyndenesse and amytie bitwixt your Grace and hym then all the ambassadors that ever came oute of Fraunce. And as touchinge the same poynte the Kyng said ones to me, if the Pope had

levyd, and ther had been but iij. busshops that had kepte a Counsell, he wolde have been with theym against the Pope. Howbeit I suppose it was but a crak; but I replyed to it and shewed according to myn Instructions in what daungiers and great inconveniences he shuld put hymself and his realm, and subgietts, in soo doyng, but he regardid it nothyng. Albeit I had shewed the same to hym diverse tymes. And fynally by the communication that I had with the said Secretorye, which doothe all with his maister, I perceived clierly that I shuld have non othr aunswer then I had, nor yet he wold write to your Grace non othrwise. And I said to hym that when your Grace and your Counsaill shuld here and understand by my reaport that he wold not othrewise clierly aunswer, nor yet put the same in writinge, ye might and wold right well perceyve that his maister ment not well. Howbeit he said undoubtedly he wold not breke, soo he might have justice, without it began of your Grace. And when I perceived this his resolute mynde and aunswer, as it had been said divers tymes bifor by diverse, that when we had nede of theym we wold make importunate sute, and when we had no nede we sette nought by theym, but did theym all harm and displeasor we coude. And albeit that I had aunswered theym in that poynte that ther was no sute made for Peas, but the sute that was made was to knowe if the Kyng their maister wolde kepe his

othe, promys, and fayth that he had made to kepe the Peas, therfor me thought it no honorable to your Grace that I shuld make any farther sute in this matier; and finally I prayed the Secretorie that I might have the next day such Lettres as the Kyng wold write to your Grace that I might take my leyf and depart, and he said he would do the best he coude.

Item, Saturday I came to the Court and taryed for the Kyng in the Chapell, and about xij. of the clok he came in and immediately called me to hym, when I prayed hym eftsones to write his aunswer, and he said that for ij. causes which he had shewed me bifore he wold not; furst was for fear that he shuld lose the Frenshe Kyng if he wrote so playnly, second bicause your Grace said his words and deds agreed not. As to the furst I said that he feared to much the losse of the Frenshe Kyng, for he shuld rather fear to lose your Grace for diverse causes that I had shewed hym bifor, and morover if the Frenshe Kynge ayded hym with all his power, yet coud he not perform his greate voyage withoute your Grace stode his good broder, which he confessed, but he said that all the world shuld knowe in what cause he went, and therfor if ye did any thing to hym then it shuld not be honorable, which I replyed upon hym, sayeng that all the world knew that your Grace went in the Churches cause, and therfor in like maner it wer not honorable for hym to doo any thyng against your Grace, and he answerd

that thoughe he flaterd you not with words yet your Grace shulde fynde goode deeds; for wher they that spake fayr to your Grace and gaf you not the best counsell wold peradventur deceve you, he would rather dee* with you then see your Grace take any dishonor: and therwith the busshop of Galaway, Dean of the Chapell, ascertaigned hym that it was past none, and then he toke me by the arm and went in to a chamber, and I said to hym Sir, sithe your Grace wol aunswer nor doo non otherwise then ye have said, and I that have no farther charge I beseche you gif me licence to depart, and he said with good wyll, and soo I toke my leyf for the consideracions above writen, And then he said I must goo see the Quene and the Prince at Lythg° for she had ordened tokens for your Grace and for the Quene: and I answered that I was right well contented soo to doo if it wer his pleasor.

Item, on Sonday afternone I rode to Lythg° and came thider by iiij. of clok at after none, and assone as I was comon Her Grace sent for me by Sir John Sencler, which brought me to her Grace, and at my furst commeng she asked of me what aunswer I had; and I said that even as I had bifor, and that he wold not put it in writing, and she said that he was feard that it shulde be shewed in France, and I aunswerd that then he stode in greate awe of France, if he durst not

die.

shewe in writing that he wold kepe that thyng that he was sworn to for fear of Fraunce: and also your Grace wold never shew it thoughe he wrote, soo that he wold kepe his promyse: and she aunswerd that she was right sory that he wold not othrewise doo, for now your Grace was in the right and he in the wronge. Howbeit she said she had done the best that was in her power, and soo wold contynue, and without farther communication of her Legacye or any other matier she delivered me tokyns to your Grace, to the Quene, and the Princesse, and prayed me to recommend her to your Grace; and soo I toke my leyf. And she commaunded me to be brought to see the Prince, and so I was; veryly he is a right fayr chyld, and a large of his age.

Item, Monday I retorned to Edinburghe, and made sute for Lettres to your Grace, shewyng theym that I wold depart the next day, Tuysday. Howbeit I coude not have the said Lettres till the sayd Tuysday night, which had, because I sawe his mynde soo frowardly sette, and that my longer sute coude not avayle, I departed towards your town of Berwyke this Wednesday in the morneng.

Item, in communyng with the Kyng diverse tymes I rehersed the inconvenients that might ensue in case he broke with your Highnesse, and amongest othr how it might cause your Grace to turn your greate armye upon hym: and therto he aunsverd ones say-

eng that if he might stop your Jurney in to Fraunce he wold yor Highnesse supposed that he wold make you werr, and after he wold ye shuld know the contrary. A nother tyme when I had somwhat with resonyng moved hym, he aunswerd to the same poynt thus, Yea my brothr shall doo right wysely sith he hath enterprised soo great a matier, as to make warr upon Fraunce, which he can not well perform and brynge aboute to turn his armye upon us and therby excuse hym of goyng in to Fraunce. Whereunto I aunswerd he shuld right well understond that if he wold breyke with your Grace, your Grace was able to perform your Voyage into Fraunce, and also to withstond hym and his power, and in case he made you werr it might somwhat trouble your Voyage, but not lette it. But I aunswerd th'erle of Ergyle mor roundely and sharply when he spoke to me like words in the counsell, which wer to longe to wrote.

Othre newes bee non here worth writing, but as they shalbe occurraunt I shall ascertaign your Grace; save only they loke dayly for De la Mote. And thus Jhesus preserve your most noble Grace. Writen at Edinburghe the xiijth. day of April.

Your humble subgecte

NI: WEST.

LETTER XXVII.

King James the Fourth to King Henry the Eighth.

A. D. 1513.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. B. VI. fol. 67. *Orig.*]

*** This Letter, in the fluctuation of James's hopes and fears, appears to have been his last effort for preserving peace with England. On this account it will be deemed important. The Truce however which it speaks of was merely an act of Spanish perfidy. Ferdinand, who negociated it, was at the same time negociating the great confederacy against France; and both these Treaties were sworn to by his plenipotentiaries at different places almost on the same day. The answer which was given to this Letter by Henry is not recorded.

RICHT excellent, richt hie and mithty Prince, oure derrest Brothir and Cousing, We commend ws unto you in oure maist hertlie maneir. Our brothir the maist cristyn king of France has laitlie writtin unto ws that he and the Catholique king of Arragone have takyn, the first day of Aprile last bipast, treuxis to indure ane haill zeire fra the conclusioun thairof for thair Realmes on this side the montanis, as we dout nocht ze ar informit and have the tenour of the sammyn lang or now; the copy quhairof, send unto ws, oure herrald, the berare, has with him. In quhilkis the Empriour and ze for the part of the King of Arragone, and for oure brothir of Francis parte the Duc of Gilder, and we as his kynnismen, be expressit, geve ze and we likis to stand comprehendit at ane certane day in the said treuxis prefixit as is contenit in thame.

Quhairapon owre Brothir of France has desirit ws to enter in the said treuxis geve ze enter in the sammyn. Heirfor[a] we have send unto you alswele to have knaulage geve ze entir in thir treuxis or notht, as to have zoure avise quhat ze think we suld do for our parte: praying zow geve ze accept the sammyn to advertise ws haistely that We may help to trate ane forder amite and peax as We have bene ay reddy to do for universale peax in Cristindome; and that we may cause our traist counsalour and ambassadour the bischop of Murray now in the partis bezond sey do his uter besines the forsaid treuxis pendant for universale peax and expedicioun agains the Infidelis. And surlie derrest brothir we think mair lose is to you of zoure lait admirall[b] quha decessit to his grete honour and laude than the avantage micht have bene of the vynnyng of all the Franche galeis and thair equippage. The saidis umquhile[c] vailzeant knichtis service and utheris noble men that mon on baith the sides apparently be perist, Geve Weir continew, war bettir applyt aponn the Innemyis of Crist quhairintill all cristen men war wele warit. Praying zou derrist brothir to take ourē Writingis in gude parte as oure mynd is, for veraly we ar sary and als oure derrest fallow of this lose, throu acquentance we had of his fader that noble knicht quha convoyt our derrest fallow the

[a] herefore. [b] Sir Edward Howard, the son of the Earl of Surrey. He was killed April 25th, 1513, in an attempt to cut out some French gallies in the harbour of Conquet. [c] formerly, some time ago.

qwene unto ws. It will like zou to haist unto ws zoure mynd hereintill and will schaw zou quhat we think of thir treuxis. Richt excellent, richt hie, and michty Prince oure derrest brothr and cousing, ye blessit Trinite have zou in tuition. Given under oure signete at oure Palace of Edinburgh the xxiiij. day of May.

Zowr brod'

JAMES R.

To the richt excellennt, richt hie,
and michty Prince oure Derrest
Brothir and Cousing the King of Ingland.

LETTER XXVIII.

Catherine of Arragon Queen of England to Thomas Wolsey the Kings Almoner. A. D. 1513.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. D. VI. fol. 92. *Orig.*]

*** This and the two Letters which follow, relate to the war with France, when Henry, joining the confederacy, interfered with the quarrel between Louis the Twelfth of France and Pope Julius the Second.

Henry's fondness for martial exercises gradually led him to a love of real war, and that the nation cherished the feeling at the moment, may be gathered from the popular Airs and Songs prepared for the occasion. One of these will not be unacceptable to the reader. The RED ROSE, it will be remembered, was King Henry's badge of cognizance: the Emperor Maximilian wore it at the siege of Terouenne as his volunteer.

The Rosse wolle in to Frawnse spryng,
Almythy God hym thyder bryng,

And save this flowr wyche ys our kyng.
Thys Rosse, this Rosse, this ryall Rosse
Wyche ys callyd a nobyll thyng,
The flowr of Englond, and soydour[a] Kyng.
Thys Apryll schowyrs wyche ar ful swet
Hath bownd thys Rosse[b] not zet ful blowne;
In France he woll hys levys schote
Hys ryzth to conquer, hys henmys to knowne.
Thys Rosse, that is of color rede,
Wyll seke hys henmys bothe far and wyde,
And wyth his bemys he woll Fransse lyth[c].
Sent Jorge Protector be hys good gyd.
God send this flowyr wer[d] he wold be,
To spreyd hys flowrs to hys rejoysing,
In France to have the vyctory;
All Hynglond for hym schal pray and syng.
Jhesu and Mary, full of myzth,
God be hys gyde in all hys ryzth;
Swet Sent Jorge owr Ladyes knyte
Save Kyng Hary bothe be day and nyzth[e].

Gilbert Talbot earl of Shrewsbury, went with the vanguard of the English army; and then "when all things were prest," says Hall, the King "accompanied with many noblemen and six hundred archers of his guard, all in white gaberdines and caps, departed from his manor royal of Greenwich the fifteenth day of June, and so he and the Queen with small journeys came to Dover Castle and there rested, and made the Queen Governor of the Realm, and commanded William Warham then bishop of Canterbury, and Sir Thomas Lovel a sage knight, and divers other, to give their attendance on the Queen: and commanded the earl of Surrey to draw toward the north-parts least the Scotts would make any enterprise in his absence. Then the King took leave of the Queen and of the Ladies, which made such sorow, for the departing of their lords and husbands, that it was great dolor to behold, and so he, with all his army, toke his ship the last day of June being the day of Saint Paul."[f]

The third of the Letters here presented to the reader, contains Catherine's congratulations after the rout of the French cavalry at Guinegate; this action, which took place on August the 16th, is more usually called THE BATTLE OF THE SPURS[g]. It was so named, with their characteristic humour, by the French themselves; because, in their panic on that day, they made little use of anything but their Spurs[h].

All the three Letters here transcribed, received injury in the fire at Westminster in 1731.

MAISTER Almoner, thinking that the Kings departing from Calays shal cause that I shal not soo of-

[a] soldier. [b] The state of the season probably detained Henry. [c] light.
[d] where. [e] MS. Cotton. Domit. A. XVIII. [f] Hall, Chron.
[g] *La Journée des Esperons.* [h] Lord Herb. Hist. Hen. VIII. p. 38.

ten here from his Grace for the grete besinesse in his iorney that every day he shalhave, I send now my servant to bringe me . . . worde of the King, and he shal tarye ther til a nother commeth and thi . . ay[a] I shal here every weke fromthens, and soo I pray you to take the p . . .[b] wt every of my messengers to write to me of the kings helthe, and w . . .[c] he entendeth to doo, for whan ye bee soo nere our enemyes I shalbe never in r . . .[d] til I see often lettres from you; and doing this ye shal geve me cause to thanke you, and I shal knowe that the mynde that ye have had ever to me contynueth stil, as my trust alwayes hath been. The brief that the Pope sent to the King I was veray gladde to see, and I shalbe more to here that he is the meane either to make an honorable peax for the King, or ells help on his part asmoche as he can, knowing that al the besinesse that the King hath was furst the cause of the Churche, and with this and th'emperor togeder I trust to God that the King shal come home shortly with as grete victorye as any Prince in the worlde; and this I pray God sende hym without nede of any other Prince. Mr. Almoner, touching Frauncesse de Cassery's matier, I thanke you for your labor therin; true it is she was my Woman befor she was maryed, but now syn she caste hir self away I have noo mor charge of hir. For veray pitie to see hir loste I prayed you in Caunterbury to finde the meanes to sende hir home into hir cuntrey. Now ye thinke that

[a] *sc.* this way. [b] pains. [c] *f.* what. [d] *f.* rest.

with my lettre of recommendacion to the Duchesse of Savoye she shalbe content to take hir into hir service. This M^r^. Almoner is not mete for hir, for she is soo perillous a Woman that it shalbe daungerous to put hir in a straunge House. And ye wol doo soo moche for me to make h . . [a] goo hens by the way with thambassador of the King my fader, it shuld bee to me a grete pleas^r^, and with that ye shal binde me to you mor than ever I was. Fromhens I have noo thing to write to you. But every body her is in good h . . . [b] thanked bee God, and the counsail veray diligent in al things concernyng thexpedicion of the Kings seruice. And ye wol doo somoche to pray the King . . . . . [c] bee soo good lord as to write to thaym that he is enformed by me, soo well . . . . ng is doon by thaym that he is veray wel content therw^t^ and geve thaym . . . . . it [d], bidding thaym soo to contynue. And with this I make an ende. At R . . . . . [e] xxvi^th^ day of July.

. . . lmoner [f] after the writing of this Lettre my lord Admirall sent hid . . [g] . . . . . whiche was taken w^t^ his ship and brought to hym as the said . . . . . from Depe towards Flaunders, and he hath shewe . . . . . things as bee specifyed in a bille . . . . e a true man in his words. Enfourme the K . . .

[a] her. [b] health. [c] *f.* king's grace to. [d] *f.* thanks for it.
[e] At Richemond the [f] Mr. Almoner. [g] hider.

. . . . . his pleas' shalbe, for I am assured the same sh . . . . . .

KATHERINA THE QWENE.

LETTER XXIX.

Queen Catherine to Thomas Wolsey. Aug. 13th 1513.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. D. VI. fol. 93. *Orig.*]

MAISTER Almoner I receyved bothe your Lettres by Copynger and John Glyn, and I . . . veray gladde to here soo well the King passeth his daungerous passage, the Franshem . . .[a] being present. I trust to God it shal soo contynue that ever the King shal hau . . . .[b] best on his enemyes with as grete honor as ever King had. Til I sawe your Lettre I . . .[c] trobled to here soo nere the King was to the siege of Tyrwyn for thinconvenients . . .[d] his owne personne; but now I thanke God ye make me suer of the good hede that the . . . . .[e] taketh of hymself to avoide almaner[f] daungiers. I pray you good M. Almoner remembre the King alwayes thus to contynue: ffor w[t] his lif and helthe there . .[g] noo thing in the world that shal com to hym amys by the grace of God, and w'out

[a] Frenchmen. [b] shall have the, [c] was. [d] of.
[e] King. [f] all manner. [g] is.

that I can see nomaner good thing shal falle after it: and being suer th . . ye wil not forgete this, I wol saye herin noo mor. But I pray you to write to me, and though ye have noo grete matiers, yit I pray you sende me worde . . . the chief that is to me from the Kings own self. Ye may think whan I put yo . . .[a] this labor that I forgete the grete besinesse that ye have in hand, but if ye re . . . . in what caas I am that is wi[t]out any comfort or pleash[r] onlesse I here from . . . ye wol not blame me to desire you (though it bee a short lettre) to let me kno . . from you tydings as often as may bee, as my trusting deserneth vnto you. From hens I have noo thing to write to you, but that ye bee not soo besy the . . warre, as we bee here encombred w[t] it. I meane that touching myn own . . . for going farther wher I shal not soo often her[b] from the King; and al his sub . . .[c] bee veray gladde, I thanke God, to bee besy with the Scotts, for thay take it for . .[d] passe tyme. My hert is veray good to it, and I am horrible besy w[t] making standerds, banners, and bagies[e]. I pray God furst to send ther with you a good . . . . as I trust he shal doo, and with that every thing her shal goo veray well . . . . . you to sende me worde wheder ye receyved the Lettres that I sent vnto you to t . . . . . of the King my fader, and what answer he gave you to it. And w[t] this

[a] you to. [b] hear. [c] subjects. [d] for a. [e] badges.

. . . . . an ende. At Richemount the xiij. day of August.

KATHERINA THE QWENE.

Maister Almoner.

LETTER XXX.

Queen Catherine to Thomas Wolsey. Aug. 25, 1513.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. D. VI. fol. 94. *Orig.*]

MAISTER Almoner, what comfort I have with the good tydings of yor lettre I nede not write it to you, for the veray reason that I have, sheweth it. The Victorye hath been soo grete that I think noon suche hath been seen befor. Al England hath cause to thanke God of it, and I specially, seing that the King begynneth soo well; whiche is to me a grete hope that thende shalbe like. I pray God sende the same shortly, for if this contynue soo still, I truste in hym that every thing shal folowe thereafter to the Kings pleasur and my comfort. M. Almoner, for the payne ye take remembring to write to me soo often, I thanke you for it w^t^ al my hert, prayeng you to contynue stil sending me worde how the King doeth, and if he kepe stil his good rule as he beganne. I thinke w^t^ the companye of themperor and w^t^ his good counsaill his Grace shal

not aventure hymself soo moche as I was aferde of befor. I was veray gladde to here the metyng of thaym both, which hath been to my semyng the grettest honor to the King that ever came to Prince. Themperor hath doon every thing like himself. I trust to God he shalbe therby knowen for oon of thexcellentest Princes in the Worlde, and taken for a nother man than he was befor thought. M. Almoner I thinke myself that I am soo bounde to hym for my part, that, in my Lettre, I beseche the King to recommende me vnto hym, and if his Grace thinketh that this shalbe wel doon I pray you to remembre it. Newes fromhens I have noon; but suche as I . .[a] suer the counsaill have advertised the King of, and therby ye shal see howe Almighty God helpeth her[b] our part aswel as ther. I trowe the cause is (a . . . here[c] saye) that the King disposeth hymself to hym soo wel that I hope al . . shalbe the better for his merits. And w[t] this I make an ende. At Riche . . .[d] the xxv[ti] day of August.

KATHERINA THE QWENE.

LETTER XXXI.

Lord Surrey's second Letter of Challenge to King James the Fourth of Scotland.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. B. VI. fol. 73.]

*** King Henry the Eighth crossed to Calais on the last day of June 1513. At embarking, he took the Earl of Surrey by the hand, and said

[a] am. [b] here. [c] as I hear. [d] Richemond.

"My Lord, I trust not the Scotts; therefore I pray you be not negligent."

Having accompanied Queen Catherine from Dover to London, the Earl went forward to the North. James, in the mean time, crossed the Tweed with fifty thousand men. From Alnwick Lord Surrey sent to accuse James of a breach of his oath, respecting the treaty of peace; and to offer him battle on the 9th of September, should he dare to abide so long on the English territory. James, who had fixed his camp at Ford, accepted the challenge; but afterwards removed to Flodden, a higher ground, at a short distance, on the skirts of Cheviot. Surrey seized this opportunity of sending to James a second Letter, signed by himself and the officers of highest rank in his army. It is the one which follows. The King's answer was verbal. It did not become an Earl to dictate to a King. He expected victory from the justice of his cause; not from the advantage of the ground. James went to the battle with all the gaiety of a Knight going to a tournament. The catastrophe will be seen in the letters of Queen Catherine.

RIGHT highe and mightie Prince, so itt is that latelie I sent unto you Rougecrosse pursevant at Armes and by him advertised yor Grace that I and other, my Sovereigne Lord's subjects, were come to represse and resist your Invasions of this the Kinges my Sovereigne Lordes realme. And for that intent I offered to give you battell on this half, Friday next coming, which my message your Grace tooke pleasure to heare as I am enformed. And by your herauld Isley ye made answere that you were right joyeous of my desire, and would not faile to accomplishe the same and to abide me there, where you were at the tyme of my message so shewed unto your Grace. And albeit it hathe pleased yow to change your said promise and put your self into a ground more like a fortresse or Campe then upon any indifferent ground for battell to be tryede, wherefore considering the day apointed is so nighe

approching I desire now of your Grace for the accomplishment of your honorable promise yow will despose your self for yor parte, like as I shall doo for myne, to be to morrowe with your host in your side of the plaine of Milfeild, in likewise as I shall doo for myne, and shalbe with the subjects of my sovereign Lord on my side of the playne of the said feild to give yow battell betwixt xij. of the clock and iij. in the afternoone, upon sufficient warning by yow to be given by viijth or ix of the Clock in the Morning by the said Pursevant. And like as I and other Noblemen my company binde us by our writeing subscribed with our hands to keepe the same tyme to the intent above said: ift may like your Grace by your honorable Letters subscribed with your hand to bind yor Grace for the accomplishment of this desire, trusting that yow will depeach our said Pursevant immediatly, for the long delay of so honorable a Journey wee think should sound to your dishonor. Written in the feild in Woller haughe the 7th day of September at five of the Clock in the afternoone

THOMAS SURREY.

THOMAS HAWARD, THOM. DACRE, CLIFFORD, HENERIE SCROOPE, RALPHE SCROPE, RICH. LATIMER, WILLIAM CONYERS, J. LOMLEY, R. OGLE, W. PERCYE, E. STANLEY, WILLIAM MOLYNEX, MARMADUKE CONSTABLE, W. GASCOIGNE, W. GRIFFITH, GEORGE DARCY, W. BULMER, THOM. STRANGWAYES, &c.

LETTER XXXII.

Queen Catherine to King Henry VIIIth. after the Battle of Flodden field. A. D. 1513.

[MS. COTTON. VESP. F. III. fol. 15. *Orig.*]

SIR

My Lord Howard hath sent me a Lettre open to your Grace, within oon of myn, by the whiche ye shal see at length the grete Victorye that our Lord hath sent your subgetts in your absence; and for this cause it is noo nede herin to trouble your Grace with long writing, but, to my thinking, this batell hath bee to your Grace and al your reame the grettest honor that coude bee, and more than ye shuld wyn al the crown of Fraunce; thankend bee God of it: and I am suer your Grace forgetteth not to doo this, which shal be cause to send you many moo suche grete victoryes, as I trust he shal doo. My husband, for hastynesse, w^t Rogecrosse I coude not sende your Grace the pece of the King of Scotts cote whiche John Glyn now bringeth. In this your grace shal see how I can kepe my premys, sending you for your baners a Kings cote. I thought to sende hymself unto you, but our Englishemens herts wold not suffre it. It shuld have been better for hym to have been in peax than have this rewarde. Al that God sendeth is for the best.

My Lord of Surrey, my Henry, wold fayne knowe your pleasur in the buryeng of the King of Scotts body, for he hath writen to me soo. With the next messanger your grace pleasur may bee herin knowen. And with this I make an ende: prayng God to sende you home shortly, for without this noo joye here can bee accomplisshed; and for the same I pray, and now goo to our Lady at Walsyngham that I promised soo long agoo to see. At Woborne the xvj. day of Septembre.

I sende your grace herin a bille founde in a Scottisshemans purse of suche things as the Frenshe King sent to the said King of Scotts to make warre against you, beseching your[a] to sende Mathewe hider assone this messanger commeth to bringe me tydings from your Grace.

Your humble wif and
true servant
KATHERINE.

LETTER XXXIII.

Queen Catharine of Arragon to Wolsey after the battle of Flodden.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. B. VI. fol. 35. *Orig.*]

MAISTER Almoner whan the last messanger went I wrote not to you, bicause I had not the suerte of every

[a] you.

thing that was doon in the bataill against the Scotts. Now syns that tyme came a Post from my lord Howard with a writing at length of every thing as it was, whiche I now sende to the King; and ye shal therby perceyve soo grete a gift that almighty God hath sent to the King; for to me it is thought the grettest honor that ever Prince had; his subgetts in his absence not oonly to have the Victorye but also to slee the King and many of his noblemen. This matier is soo marvelous that it semeth to bee of Godds doing aloone. I trust the King shal remembre to thanke hym for it[a]; for soo al the Reame her hath doon; and bicause ye shal knowe by my Lord Howards Lettre every thing better than I can write, it is noo nede herin to saye any mor of it.

Mr. Almoner the King, when he was in Calays a grete whyle agoo, sent me a Lettre touching the matier betwixt my lord of Caunterbury and my lord of Wynchestre. I did after his commaundement, and shewed the same befor Sir Thomas Lovell and Mr Englefeld unto my Lord of Caunterbury, and I prayed hym to geve thanswer shortly, after the Kyngs mynde as he knewe it; for the matier was soo new to me that I wold goo noo further in it. Syns that tyme I have diverse seasons asked hym for the said answer, whiche I coude

[a] Henry himself did not forget this. Hall says, "On the Monday at nyght the xxvi day of September, the Lord Harbarte and the Earle of Shrewsburye made greate fires in their armies in token of victory and triumph: and on Tuesday the xxvii. daye, the Tente of cloth of gold was sett up, and the Kyngs Chapell sang mass, and after that *Te Deum*, and then the bishop of Rochester made a sermon, and shewed the deathe of the Kynge of Scottes and muche lamented the ill death and perjury of him."

never have til now; and the same in a lettre I sende you herin closed. I pray you M. Almoner excuse me to the King for the taryeng of it soo long for I coude have it noo sonner. And with this I make an ende, prayeng you to contynue yor writing whiche is to me a grete comfort, and me thinketh it is a grete whyle agoo that I receyved any from you. At Woborne the xvj. day of Septembre.

KATHERINA THE QWENE.

M. Almoner I cannot sende you now my lord of Caunterbury's answer, for the cofer wherin it is is goon to my next lodgyng and therfor I shal this night sende it you by post.

To Master Almoner.

THERE are one or two passages in Hall's Chronicle which illustrate these Letters of Catherine on the Victory of Flodden Field. He says, "well known it was by them that fought, and also reported by the prisoners of Scotland that their King was taken or slain, but his body was not found till the next day, because all the mean people as well Scotts as English were stripped out of their apparel as they lay on the field; yet, at the last, he was found by the Lord Dacres, who knew him well by his privy tokens, in that same place where the battle of the Earl of Surrey and his first joined together. This King had divers deadly wounds, and in especial one with an arrow, and another with a bill, as appeared when he was naked. After that the body of the King of Scotts was found and brought to Berwick, the Earl shewed it to Sir William Scott his chancellor, and Sir John Forman his serjeant porter, which knew him at the first syght, and made great lamentation. Then was the body bowelled, embalmed, and cered, and secretly, amongst other stuff, conveyed to Newcastle:" and in another place, "After this noble Victory th'Erle wrote first to the Queen which had raised a great power to resist the said King of Scotts, of the winning of the battayle, for then the body of the King of Scotts was not found, and she yet being

at the town of Buckingham had word, the next day after, that the King of Scotts was slayn, and a part of his coat armour to her sent, for which Victory she thanked God, and so the Earl, after the north parte was set in a quietnes, returned to the Queen with the dead body of the Scottish King and brought it to Richmond." [a]

King James the Fourth being under excommunication at the time of his death, it became necessary to have the Pope's permission for his interment in consecrated ground. Leo the Tenth's licence for his interment at St. Paul's dated Nov. 29th 1513, is still extant in the Cottonian Collection [b]; but no funeral for him there appears to have taken place.

Stowe, who, in his Annals, confirms Hall's account, says, that being closed in lead, the body was conveyed to the Monastery of Sheen, where it remained for a time, though in what order he was not certain. "But since the Dissolution of the House," he adds, "to wit in the raigne of King Edward the Sixth, Henry Grey then Duke of Suffolk there keeping house, I have been shewed the same body (as was affirmed) so lapped in lead, throwne into an old waste roome amongst old timber, stone, lead, and other rubble." [c]

The author of "Marmion," noticing the more vulgar opinions which were prevalent in Scotland, at the time of King James's death, says it was objected to the English that they could never shew the token of the iron belt; which, however, he was likely enough to have laid aside on the day of battle as encumbering his personal exertions.

An unhewn column, he adds, marks the spot where James fell. It is still called the King's stone.

LETTER XXXIV.

Thomas Lord Dacre to King Henry the Eighth.

A. D. 1513.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. B. VI. fol. 37. *Orig.*]

*** The reader who would estimate the nature of a Border forray, will not easily gain a clearer notion of one than from the following Letter:

For here be some have pricked as far
On Scottish ground as to Dunbar;
Have drunk the Monks of St. Bothan's ale,
And driven the beeves of Lauderdale;

[a] Hall, Chron. [b] Vitell. B. II. fol. 54. [c] Stowe's Annales, edit. 1631. p. 494.

Harried the wives of Greenlaws goods,
And given them light to set their hoods.

Lord Dacre of the North, the writer of this Letter, was Warden of the Marches from the first to the seventeenth year of Henry the Eighth. He was a chieftain of intrepid character, whose influence extended far beyond the Scottish border: indeed he stood at no intrigue to foment division in every part of Scotland. In 1514, when that unhappy country was clouded with calamity, he ended one of his Letters to the Lords of Henry's Council with these memorable words: "There was never so mekill myschefe, robbry, spoiling, and vengeance in Scotland then there is nowe, without hope of remedye; which I pray our Lord God to continewe."[a] But we shall again have occasion to speak of Lord Dacre. The full of the Moon was the favourite time for the mischiefs of the Border forray.

Pleas it your Highnes to knowe I have receyved your most honourable Lettres of your gracious thanks for my pure service done to your Grace according to my dieuty, which is to me the most singler comforth and rejoysing I can have; for by the same I well perceyve yor Highnes regardeth not the sinistre reaport or rumor surmised ayenst me, ne your Grace regardeth or geveth ony credence thereunto, wherby I am bounde the rather to doun to your Highnes the most laudable and acceptable service I can or may do, and so shall undoutedly at all my power: and where as by the same your most honorable letters I understond your pleasor and commaundment is that I shold effectually procede to the spedy execucion of ij Roods opon the West and Medyll Marches to the most annoyaunce of the Scotts that I possibly may, like it your Grace to knowe

Opon Thuresday last past I assembled your subgietts in Northumbreland to the nombre of a thousand

[a] MS. Cotton. Calig. B. I. fol. 154.

horsmen, and rode in at Gallespeth and so to the watre of Kale two myle within Scotland, and there set furth two foreyes; my broder Philipp Dacre with ccc. men which burnt and distroyed the Town of Rowcastell with all the cornes in the same and thereabouts, and wan two towres in it, and burnt both roffe and flores: and Sir Roger Fenwike with ccc. men burnt the Town of Langton and distroyed all the cornes therein: which Townes er in the hert of the countre two myle beyond Jedworth opon the watere of Chevyot. And I come with a stale[a] to a place called the Dungyon, a myle from Jedworth, and so went to the Sclater furd on the water of Bowset, and there the Scotts persewed us right sore, ther bekered[b] with us, and gave us hand stroks; there come thre standards to bak theym, that is to say David Karr of Fernehirst and the lard of Boudgedworth opon the oon side, and the sheriff of Tevidale on the othre side, with the nombre of DCC. men or mo. The lard of Walghope was hurt there with oon arrowe and his hors slane; Mark Trumbill was strikken with a spere and the hede left in hym, his hors was won, and diverse Scotesmen were hurt there. And so we come forwards, where we saw my broder Syr Cristofer Dacre with his oste arreyed at a place called the Bellyng, which was to us no litill comforth, and to hym gret gladnes seyng the small power we were of at that tyme.

My said broder come in at Cressopbrige and there

[a] *f.* a steal, an ambush. [b] bickered.

entred the Medyll marches, and so come thorow Ledesdale to the rughes wyre, xiiij myle within the ground of Scotland, and there he put furth two forreyes: Syr John Ratclif with fyve hundreth men in oon, which burnt the town of Dyker sex myle from the said swyre with a towre in the same, thei layed corne and straw to the dore and burnt it both rofe and flore, and so smoked theym owt. Also the said Syr John and his company burnt the Townnes of Sowdon and Lurchestrother with a towre in it, and distroyed all the cornes about theym and toke diverse prisoners with much insight and goods. Nicholes Haryngton, Nicholes Rydley, Thomas Medilton, and George Skelton with othre to the nombre of fyve hundreth in the othre forrey burnt the towne of Hyndhalghehede and a towre in the same flore and rofe; and in likewise the townnes of West sawsyde and Est sawsyde, with a Pele of lyme and stane in it: and my said broder Syr Cristofer, with two thousand horsmen and cccc. fute men with bowes for savegard of thost[a] in strayts come in a stale to Dykerawe; and there the said forreyes releved to hym, and so come forward and met me. We had not rydden above the space of a myle when we sawe the Lord Chambrelane appere in our sight with ij M. men, and four standerds; the othre thre standerds resorted to hym and so the countre drew fast to theym. We put us in arreye and come homeworde and rode no faster then nowr

[a] the host.

shepp and swyne that we had won wold dryve, which was of no gret substance, for the countre was warned of our comyng and the bekyns burnt fro mydnyght forward. And when the Scotts had geven us overe we retourned home and come in at the Redeswyre. I come to Harbotill at mydnyght: my broder Syr Cristofer lay that night at the towre of Otterburne, and opon the morne to Hexham, and his folks in other townnes opon the water of Tyne, and, on the thrid day at home, as many as might git.

Sir I se not the gentilmen of the countre in a redynes for defence of your bordoures, for certen of theym to whome I had geven warnyng, as my Lord Ogle which promised to com to me, the constable of Alnewike, and othre, trustyng thei wold have bene glad to do your Grace service accordingly as thei have done to your Wardens in tyme of werre, come not to me at the place appoynted, wherby I was not accompayned as I thoght to have bene. I was councelled and avised by my guyds to have rejorned my purpose, and so wold have done, but oonly that I had appoynted with my broder Syr Cristofer to mete hym in Scotland, for he departed fro me to the West Merches to bryng my folks from thens whome I might not disappoynt for I had no space to gif him warnyng, it was xxx^{ti} myle fro me and more, and els I had not keped my purpose which now is performed thanked be Jhesu, and all your subgietts in savety bot a servaunt of myn, which was

killed there, and two Scotts were slain and many othre hurt the same tyme.

Pleas it your Grace, as for the Rode to be made opon your West marche I can not se how it can be done conveniently unto the next light, for two consideracions, oon is bycause I dar not be absent of this Medill March during this light, for fere the Scotts schold distroye and burne the countrie in myn absence, which I regard gretly; and oon othre is that my servants horses which come to this Rode was sore labored, for thei rode xxviij[ti] owres without any bayte. And in the next light I shall, God willing, performe the said rode; and in the meane tyme shall cause small Rodes be made, which shalbe as gret annoyaunce to the Scotts as a great Rode shold be, and thus shall yo[r] money be employed to the best I can, and for the grettiest hurt and destruccion of the Scotts; for I shalbe as goode a husband thereof as I wold be of myn awn, and alwey I shalbe redy to gif accompt of the same at your pleasure.

Also pleas it your Grace me seamnes[a] it were necessary that yo[r] lettres of commaundment were direct[b] to my lord of Northumbreland and to my Lord of Clifford, to cause their tenaunts gif attendance opon your Wardens as thei have bene accustomed to do in tymes passed, for as I understond my Lord Cliffords tenaunts er[c] warned not to ride without his speciall commaundment.

[a] seems. [b] directed. [c] are.

As for Newes of Scotland, like it your Grace to know, John of Barton which passed into Fraunce in the Navye of Scotland, launded at Kirkobrighe and ther toke seknes and disceced of the same.

There hase bene a gret councell at Saynt Johnstone, and all the lords of Scotland was there with the Quene. It is determined by theym that the Bisshop of Aberdene shalbe Archbisshopp of saynt Andrewes: the bisshopp of Catnes shalbe bishop of Aberdene; a broder of therl of Adthills shall have Catnes. The Abbaye of Arbrothe is geven to Master George Douglas therl of Anguyse son: th'abbaye of Dunfermlyn to Master James Hebburne: the Priory of Coldynghame to the lord Chambrelane broder: and a broder of David Karrs of Farnehirst is entred by force into the Abbacye of Kelso and enjoyes it by intrusion.

Also it is aggreed by the said Councell that the Castell of Sterling shalbe vetelled and fortified in all hayst possible, and the lord Borthwike shalbe capitane of the same, and have the yong King in his keping there, and he not to be removed without assent of the hole councell.

At the same councell a communication was had, which Lords shold haue the rewll of the lands for well and sou'te[a] of the realme, bot thei aggreed not thereopon; and so departed from thens at that tyme.

[a] the weal and surety.

Therl of Aren, admirall of Scotland, is commen home with the Shippes of Scotland, and a French Knight with hym which hase broght writtings and credence from the French King and the Duke of Albany; what it is I know not as yit, bot I shall endevor me to git knowlege thereof. Thre of the grettest shippes of Scotland er[a] left in Fraunce to the spryng of the yere, to th'entent thei may assist the French navye as it is supposed.

The gret Shipp of Scotland was ron on grounde, bot sho[b] is recovered as thei say or theire Admirall departed. The Scottishe soldiours which be commen home makes evill reaport of the French King, sayng thei were not well entreated there: and as newes shalbe occurrant in thies parties your Grace shalbe advertised by the grace of Almighti God, whome I besech to preserve your most honorable estate. At Harbotill the xiij[th]. day of Novembre at vj. of the clok in the mornyng.

Your humble subgyet

THOMAS DACRE.

To the Kings Highnes.

LETTER XXXV.

William Burbank to King Henry the Eighth.

[MS. COTTON. VITELL. B. II. fol. 97. *Orig.*]

*** Roscoe, in his Life of Leo the Tenth, says that Cardinal Baynbrigge died at Rome on the 24th of July 1514, "having been poisoned

[a] are. [b] she.

by his steward Rinaldo de Modena, who is said to have confessed, on being put to the rack, that he was induced to commit the crime in revenge for a blow given him by his master."

The Letter immediately before the reader, with the two which follow it, relate to this remarkable event, which, by opening the road of preferment, hastened Wolsey's greatness.

Cardinal Baynbrigge, or Bambridge as he is sometimes called, was the intimate friend of Morton, and had shared in that prelate's sufferings during the usurpation of Richard the Third. He was afterwards almoner to Henry the Seventh; was employed by that prince in various embassies; and raised, in 1508, to the archbishoprick of York. Henry the Eighth sent him, at a critical moment, on an embassy to Pope Julius the Second, who, in 1511, created him a cardinal, by the title of St. Praxede.

The real date of the Cardinal's death was July the 14th. The Cardinal de Medicis, whose letter to King Henry the Eighth, dated on that day, is still extant, says "Hodie bonæ memoriæ Cardinalis Eboracensis naturæ reddidit quod acceperat"[a]. The Cardinal of Sorento, governor of Rome, in another Letter to the King dated August the 22d. 1514, states that a little time before his death, Cardinal Baynbrigge said to those who stood round his bed, "hanc afflictionem ego pro patria et honore charissimi Regis mei patior"[b].

Rinaldo de Modena, it appears, was not the steward of Cardinal Baynbrigge, as Roscoe states, nor one of the household chaplains as he is described by Stow, but, simply, a priest whom the Cardinal employed in menial services in his chamber.

The most remarkable circumstance however, noticed in the Letters which follow, is the charge against Silvester de Giglis bishop of Worcester, then resident as Envoy at Rome, as implicated in the murder: a charge which is not noticed by our Historians.

Richard Pace and William Burbank, the writers of these Letters, were the Cardinal's Secretaries, and were appointed by him the executors of his will. Pope Leo the Tenth recommended them in strong terms of kindness to the favour of King Henry the Eighth. Pace, it will be remembered, was the bosom friend of Erasmus; and was afterwards principal Secretary of State.

PLEAS it your most excellent Grace to witt, that, as touchyng the cause . . . .[c] deithe of my Lorde and Master my Lorde Cardinall, your Graces late Orator,

[a] MS. Cotton. Vitell. B. II. fol. 82. b. [b] Ibid. fol. 89*. [c] *f.* of the.

because that, aswell affore his departor by the Phisecians, as aftur by a . . . . man that oppynyd his body by the Popis commandmentt, itt was juged . . . . he shuld have been posonyd, or att the leste grett tokens and as some . . . saide manyfest thyngs therof apperide, the Popes said holines haith sith caused moste diligentt and exactt examynacion to be maide uppon the same. And by cause that it was known all most manyfestlie that the busshop of Worcestr, now y^r Graces Orator, was enymye unto my said Lorde, itt was sodenlie noiside throughe the citie that he shulde have . . . [a] auctor of this great pretendid offence. A certan prest namyd Ranalde . . [b] Modena was moche in my lords chamber, and alway dere and fa . . . [c] with the said busshop of Worcestr. Uppon suspicion he was taken by . . . [d] Popis commandment and sett in Castill Angill. By cause that I shuld conduce home my said Lords companye, and com unto your Grace his Holines commandide me to be contynually at the said examynacion d . . . [e] by the Auditor of the Chamber, the castellan, two bisshops, and the Fiscall, with sundrie notaries; to th'ententt that I seing the ordor thereof shuld soo make relacion unto your Grace. I taryed there whils thre days aftur my said Lords departor wer expiride; soo that then our company . . . . [f] no house to tary in butt muste neds departt. All this tyme the said Rainalde wold no thyng

[a] *f.* been the. [b] *f.* of. [c] familiar. [d] the. [e] *f.* directed. [f] *f.* having.

graunt of his offence or knowledge commyttide in this bihalfe. Albe itt he graunttide that mony tymes he revelate my lords secretts unto the said busshop, and sundrie oder thynges wherby the Juges eft . . . .[a] hym worthy to suffre tortour: and delivered unto his lernydt counsaill a . . .[b] of his said confession for his defence, with sufficientt respett of tymie to aunswer unto the same according to the law. Wheruppon supposing no . . . confession to have been made by the said Ranalde I tooke my leaf a . . . . Popis Holines, and soo my Journey homwarde, this night being in . . . . . .[c] of Florence. Your trewe and faithfull Servante my felow Master Richard Pace haith sentt unto me his Lettres desiring me to advertise Your Grace uppon . . .[d] contenttes of the same. He writithe that the said Ranalde within . . . tyme of his deliberacion to aunswer frelie and withoutt manyshing o . . . ony creator haith oppenlie confesside that he hym self putt poson into my said lords potage att the desire and conduction therunto of the busshop of Worcestr; this he did soon aftur the fest of Corpus Christi laste. He confesside that the said busshop yeve hym for his labors in this bihalfe xv. ducats of gold, som large, and som de camera. Item that the said busshop said thes wordes unto hym, "If we rid nott this Cardenall of the worlde, we shall never be in quietnes." Item he confesside . . .[e] oon Ste-

[a] *f.* after thought. [b] copy. [c] *f.* the city. [d] the. [e] that.

phan, secret chamberlan unto the said busshop of Worcestr was . . .[a] herunto. He saith he did by the said poson in a Citie namyd Sp . . .[b] nott verray farr from Rome, and kepid itt a good space in his chambre under a tyyll stoon. All this his confession is writen in the proctor his booke by his own hande in processu. And sithen, the said Ranalde . . .[c] writen this his confession [in] his awne hande and haith confesside the same unto my Lorde Cardenall de Medicis your Graces protector, whom the Popis Holines (aftire he was informyd by the saide Juges herof) sentt purposlye to knowe the verray treuthe. Nott oonlie the said Ranalde haith thus confesside, and writen the same of his own hande, butt also confermyd itt with oon grett oithe. He made this confession frelie, to thintentt itt shulde be shewide immediatelie unto the Popes holines, supposing therby that his said Holines shuld have grauntted hym hys lyve, and desiride the same of my said Lorde de Medicis, who aunswerde that he shuld have pardon of all thynges that he had confesside (whiche was thefte and mony oder[d] enormyties) save oonlie of killing of my Lorde Cardinall. Uppon the morow aftur, the said Ranalde, with a small knyff that he had secrett, smott hym self, wolfully intending to have killed hym self, and therof is in poontt of deithe as is supposide without recovery; and saith that he knowth perfitelie to be

[a] privy. [b] *sc.* Spoleto. [c] *f.* hath. [d] many other.

perpetually for this act dampnyd. My said felow writithe that the said busshop haith obteignyd suche frendes by mean of his monye, that he trustith to ascaipe this jeopardie of correction. And also that som your Grace's lovers shewid hym sith my departour from Rome that the Popis Holines wold gladlie have the matier coloride upon the busshops partie speciallie, for that service that the said busshop shulde have doon for his Holines in procuring (soo farr as in him was) peax bitwixtt your Grace and the Franshe King. Verralie I can nott bileve that his Holines ever intendide this; remembring soo strate examynacion as he haith causid to be made herein, and from the begynnyng therof knew perfitelie that all suspicion herof was oonlie ayanste the saide busshop. And I trust verralie his Holines woll advertise your Grace right shortlie uppon the hool processe maid in this bihalf, for in the begynning of this examynacion he saide that if itt war possible he wolde "reddere rationem Sacræ Majestati vestræ super interitu Cardinalis sui." By sids this, all the hooll College woll call for the correction herof. He writing to me also that now all Rome is full of the rumor of this detestable act, the forsaid Stephan is taken and sett in the Castill. Som ther be that haith noside[a] in Rome how that the poson shuld have been sentt from England by som prelate thare, being enemye unto my said late

[a] noised.

Lorde, and procuride the same to be mynystrid unto hym by his cooke. Wheruppon soundrie men hath inquyred the same boith of my said felo and me, wherunto we aunswerde that our master had no suche enymyes in England, ne that Prelates of Englande and English borne wer ever disposed unto ony suche actes. My said felow writithe that he is informyde by som, your Graces frendes, that sithe the saide confession was shewide unto the Popes Holines moche secret labor haith been made unto the same; that the foresaid Ranalde shulde revooke or excuse his said confession made ayanste the saide bushop. In his confession making . . . desiride the Popis Holines instantlie to regarde the said busshops . . . and to have compassion uppon hym. Els he said that he muste nedes be undoon; tho itt warr butt oonlie by means of my Lorde Cardinall Hadrian. In all haste possible, aftur that knowlege com unto me, I did depeche this berar towards Your Grace for to advertise the same of the premisses. My said felow writithe no thyng what ordor is intendide for the correction heroff. I have therfore writen unto hym that in ony wise he shall signifye unto your Grace when and assoon as the saide ordor shalbe determynyde. In tyme of writing . . . I was soore ceaside: as may somdeall be percevide by the rude maner of the besechyng yor Grace to have patiens therin with me. Thus I shall duryng lyve humble bisiche our Lorde

Jhū for the preservation of your Graces most hygh and roiall astate. From Florence the xxviij.th day of Auguste M.D. xiiij.

Your Grace's moste lawlie,
faithfull, and trewe subgett

To the Kinge's most
noble Grace.

(*The signature burnt.*)

LETTER XXXVI.

William Burbank's second Letter to King Henry VIII.th

[MS. COTTON. VITELL. B. II. fol. 94. b. *Orig.*]

PLEAS itt your moste noble Grace, aftur that I hade closid my former Lettre unto the same, I recevide from your faithfull servantt M. Richard Pacie[a], my felow, in writing, how that the prest that posonyd my lord and master was inducyd by his confessors, by mean of the busshop of Worcestr, that he shuld instantly deny his confession. And the said busshop laborid to have instrumenttes maide uppon the same. By inforsing of his said Confessors he denyde the space of two days, being all that tyme in poyntt of deith: butt ever he did banne and accurst the busshop of Worcestr, and the tyme that ever he bigan to have famyliaritie or practice with hym. Aboutt the sext hour of the xxvj. day of this monthe the said prest dyyde of his

[a] Pace.

own wilfull stroke. Albe itt iiij. or v. houres affore he dyyd, he graunttid of new unto his surgion and phisician that he posynyde my said lorde: butt he did not shew by whoos instance being so commandid by his confessors. The Popis Holines haith promyttid that Justice shall be ministride in this behalf; and that all his confessions and processe maid ayanst the said prest shall be kepid in suretie for your Grace to looke uppon att your pleasor; with also sundrie lettres of the said busshops which (as he saith) be hool ayanst hym self. Their is no confession of the said Ranald taken thayr in effectt, save oonlie his furst confession whiche remanyth in processe of the Juges. He saith also that my lord your Graces protector haith promyttid that the said prests body shalbe ower[a] bruntt or quartride. He saith that many gret men haith offerid them self to kill the said busshop of Worcestr for this actt: and that all Rome be inflamyde ayanste hym for the same, boith spirituall and temporall. He writith also that he is secretlie informyde that the said busshop is taken, but the Popis Holines having regarde that he is your Graces Orator, itt is thought he woll desiste of condigne correction doyng ayanste hym, whils he shall perceve your pleasor in that bihalf. Thus I shall besiche the blissid Trinitie for the preservacion of your most highe and Roiall astate. From

[a] either.

Florence the xxviij. day of Auguste att nyght M. D. xiiij. Youre moste humble trew and faithfull subjectt,

WILLIAM BURBANKE.

To the Kings most noble
Grace.

LETTER XXXVII.

Richard Pace to King Henry the Eighth upon the death of Cardinal Bainbridge. A. D. 1514.

[MS. COTTON. VITELL. B. II. fol. 102. *Orig.*]

WYTHE most humble and lowly commendation unto your Grace. In consideration of the greate rumor that is now continually here for the miserable dethe off my late lorde Cardinal, I thoght itt verraye necessari to certifie your Highnesse in whatt cace the matier stondithe. Aftre that the Prist that poysonidde my late lorde hadde kyllydde hymselff for hys detestable deade, itt was necessari that all the hole matier schulde be committide to the Lawe and Justice, for the punischement off suche as were accusidde as autors off the sayde poysonynge viz. the Bushoppe of Worcestre and oon off hys chiambrelayns. And so . . . synst[a] the sayde

[a] ever since.

prists dethe, processe haith bene made, accordynge to the lawe, agaynst them boithe, and itt is concludidde bi all doctors and lernidde men that the furst confession made bi the sayde prist, must be bilevidde and none odre. Wherfore itt is also determinidde bi the Juggis in this cause, that the sayde Bushoppe schulde not oonly be put in prison, but also su . . .[a] torments, and be compellidde to schewe the truthe. And he hadde bene put in prison affore thys yffe I wolde have consentidde thereunto: but in no cace I wolde condescende therto, havynge respecte unto hym as your Graces Orator; and wyllynge to have knowliege off your sayde Graces mynde and pleasor affore that I do agree to ony suche thynge; thoghe that the Lawe doith exclude all maner of dignities in thys cace. Not wythstondynge thys my demeanor, the sayde Bushoppe doithe imagyne boithe in wurd and deade the wurst he can agaynst me; presupposynge suerly to have your Graces favor in thys cause, and bi that to avoyde all thyngs nowe imputidde unto hym. Wherfore I must most humbly desyre and praye your Highnesse to schewe your favors equally in thys cause, accordyng to Justice. And thus doynge, your Grace schall most reasonably resolve us boithe. For yffe the Bushoppe can bi justice purge hymselfe from thys crime, he schall save his honor; and my poore honestie schalbe seen in lyke maner evidently to all men: and

[a] suffer.

itt schall appere that I intende nothynge but to schewe my selfe oon true and faytheful servant to my Maister dedde, as I was unto him beynge in lyffe: for yffe I, aftre the sayde pristis evident confession hadde not usidde all diligence to cerche[a] owte all suche as were privey to the poysonynge off my sayde late Lorde, every man myght reasonably have thoght that I hadde condescende unto the same and bene consen . . .[b] wythe the sayde Bushoppe therunto; wherby I schulde have bene put to great rebuke withoute faulte. Oon thynge doithe aggreve me ryght sore, that the sayde bushoppe doithe yett inf . . .[c] my late lorde beynge dedde in false and untrue thyngis, wherin is nodre honestie nodre goodde Christianitie, as itt is manifest bi the holy pre . . .[d] off our faythe: and nothynge but reason, honestie, perfecte love, and fidelitie to your Grace my Prince, and my natural cuntrie, doithe move me to be sory for thys unnatural deade. For thoghe . .[e] late lorde hadde (I can not denye) sum vices; (I do take Godde to my jugge) he was the m . . .[f] faytheful man to your Grace hys Prince that eve . . .[g] borne, and most vehemente in the defense off your Graces causis, when none odre man durst open hys mouthe to speke, save he alone: thoghe (I well knowe) boithe your Grace and odre my lordis . . .[h] your most honorable counsayle haithe hadde trou relation

[a] search. [b] consentiens. [c] infame. [d] precepts.
[e] *f.* my. [f] moste. [g] ever was. [h] of.

off hym frome hense bi suche that nodre intendidde goodde to your Highnesse nor them; but usidde crafty maners for their owne exaltation and private profyte: and th . . . .[a] were ayders and supporters here off suche . . . . .[b] doithe nowe ryght well knowe that my sayde lorde was oon faytheful man, and be verraye sory that they didde not use in there most arduuse matiers boithe hys faythe and counsayle. Itt schall pleas your Grace to undrestonde that the sayde bushoppe off Wurcestres labors and myne be verraye different in the controversie dependynge betwixte hym and me; for he doithe seke nothynge but favors, and procurithe the same bi effusion off mony and large promisis. I do desyre nothynge but equitie and justice. Wherby itt doithe appere that I do nothynge agaynst hym, but that at[c] boithe honestie and the lawe doithe require; and hys deadis agaynst me to procede oonly off malice, whyche to use agaynst me he haithe no cause: for I have evyr lovidde hym untyl nowe off late, when he was opynly accusidde offe my late lorde and maisters dethe; and also itt was opynly noysidde and seen bi certayne signes that he nodre was true nor lovynge to your Grace and Realme, but rather procuridde your ennymys honor and profecte[d]. And suche men can not be lovydde off ony conscience: for the holy lawe doithe not oonly excommunicate, interdicte, curse, and banne men off suche demeanor, but also commaunde the

[a] those that. [b] iniquity. [c] that. [d] profit.

ruine and destruction off all there progenie; as know-ithe allmyghty godde whoo preserve your Graces moste royall and noble astate in longe helthe and continual prosperitie. From Rome the xxv off Septembre. By your Graces most humble and faythfull servaunte and subjecte.

RICHARDE PACE.

To the Kyngis Grace,
hys Soverayne Lorde.

In a Latin letter which the bishop of Worcester wrote to Wolsey, dated from Rome August 31st 1514, he dwells much upon his own innocence as substantiated by Raynald's second confession. He likewise states Raynald to have been insane, "demens quidem semper ac pene bellua fuit;" and subsequently adds, "et quo sepius ac acrius interrogatus cur me falso criminatus esset, eo constantius respondit de industria me nominasse, quo se facilius periculo liberare posset, quia fur esset et plura furta in domo Cardinalis ad valorem ducentorum ducatorum commisisset, ac nonnullas cedulas pecuniarum in illius obitu surripuisset[a]."

That there was some ground beyond the mere confession of Raynald for suspecting the bishop of Worcester of unkind intentions towards Cardinal Baynbrigge may be inferred from the following extract of a Letter, from the Cardinal himself to King Henry the Eighth, written but a few months preceding. The original was formerly among the Letters in the Cottonian Manuscript Calig. D. VI. but was lost in the fire of 1731. The extract here given is one which was fortunately preserved by Bishop Kennett. The Cardinal says,

—— "Duringe the tyme of my abode here in this Court I neder can ne woll desiste to signifye unto your Highnes such thinges as I shall perceive that be dissonant oder[b] to your Grace's honour or welthe of your Realme. As touching my Lord of Worcester your Grace's Oratour, he doth use continually the companye of the Protectour of Fraunce, bothe in the Citye and also in Vynes and Garthinges[c] without the Citye, both by day and night, whereof right honourable men your Grace's frendes hath at sundrye times advertised me; and that he is more familiar with him than with any Cardinal of Rome. It is perfitely knowne unto every Englishman within

[a] MS. Cotton. Vitell. B. II. fol. 95. Another Letter on this subject from the Bishop of Worcester to the King occurs in the same Volume fol. 113.

[b] either. [c] gardens.

this Citye that nothing can be more odious unto him than to hear of any prosperous succession of your Graces causes or for to heare of any honour spoken of your Realme or subjectes, odre[a] by writinge from Englonde or oder[b] places, upon your moost noble actes and victories obteined. From Rome the xx[th] day of Maie M. D. xiiij."[c]

Sylvester de Giglis was by birth an Italian; and succeeded his uncle in the Bishoprick of Worcester in 1498. WOLSEY was the commendatory of his See. De Giglis died at Rome April 16th. 1521. He likewise was a correspondent of Erasmus.

The violence of Cardinal Baynbrigge's temper to his servants, and those about him, is particularly dwelt upon by Oldoinus the continuator of Ciaconius.

LETTER XXXVIII.

Mary Sister of King Henry the Eighth, to Monsieur.

[MS. COTTON. VITELL. C. XI. fol. 156 b. *Orig.*]

*** The affiancing of Mary, the younger daughter of Henry the Seventh, to Charles Prince of Castile, in 1507, is mentioned by most of our Historians. "A mariage" says Holinshed "was concluded betwixt the said King of Castile and the Ladie Marie daughter to King Henrie, being about the age of ten years. For conclusion of which mariage, the lord of Barow and other ambassadors were sent into England from the Emperor Maximilian, which with great rewards returned." An account of "The Solempnities and Triumphes" performed on this occasion at Richmond, was given in a Tract which is now extremely rare, from the press of Richard Pynson. Bon-fires and other rejoicings were made in London; and Mary assumed the title of *Princess of Castile.* Among the presents given to her at one of the banquets on this occasion was a jewel from the young Prince, consisting of a K for Karolus, with an inscription in Latin, intimating that MARY had chosen that better part which should not be taken from her.

The final completion of the marriage, however, was deferred, and Henry the Seventh, in his Will, charged his effects with the sum of £50,000, as a dower for Mary, when married either to Charles King of Castile, or any other foreign Prince.

In 1513, when Henry the Eighth returned from Tournay he made pre-

[a] either. [b] other. [c] MS. Lands. Brit. Mus. 978. fol. 177 b.

parations, says Hall, "to sende the said Lady his sister to the Prince of Castell. But the Counsayll of Flaunders aunswered that concernyng her selfe they would gladly receyve, to be espowsed to their Prynce, for she was then one of the fayrest Ladyes of the worlde: but as concernynge the articles of her dowar[a], they coulde not fulfyll without th'assente of the King of Arragon and the realme of Castell, whyche, as was sayde, mynded to have hym maryed in Spayne. The kynge lyke a lovynge brother," Hall adds, "woulde not sende his syster wyldely wythoute a dowar assured" and "tooke the fyrste agremente, betwene the Kynge her father and Kyng Phylyppe hys father, to bee of none effecte, syth the Spanyardes woulde not conferme the same, and the cause was, by reason that Kynge Phylyppe was not naturally borne to be their Kynge, but was Kynge in the ryghte of his wyfe, and so they were not bounde too hys agreementes made withoute their consente. So thus the Kynge of Englande reteyned styll hys syster, and all the preparacion that he had done for her conveyaunce, whyche was verye costely."[b]

Early in the following year, Henry sent again into Flanders for the performance of the marriage, "and shewed how he had prepared all things necessary and convenient for such an high estate. The Counsayl of Flaunders aunswered that they would not receyve her that yere, with many subtyl argumentes, by reason wherof the perfite love betwene England and the Low Countreys was much slaked."[c]

A marriage for Mary was now negociated with Louis the Twelfth of France, a prince who was, as near as possible, three times her age. Her dower was fixed at four hundred thousand crowns[d]: and the impatience of Louis for the arrival of his bride after she had been affianced, is shewn by one or two of his Letters still extant. On the 2d of September 1514 Louis wrote to Wolsey, desiring that his Queen might be sent over without delay[e]: and the same day the Duke of Orleans wrote to Mary desiring her to hasten her journey[f].

The following Letter to Monsieur, entirely in her own hand, was probably written at this time.

MONSR. bien humblement a vostre bonne Grace je me recommende. Monsr. jay par Monsr. levesque de Lencoln receu les tres affectueuses lettres quil vous a pleu naguaires mescripre qui mont este a tresgrant joye et confort: vous asseurant Monsr. quil nya riens que

[a] See the Treaty in Rymer, tom. xiii. p. 171.
[b] Hall, edit. 1809. p. 567.
[c] Ibid. p. 568.
[d] Rymer, ut supr. p. 463.
[e] MS. Cotton. Calig. D. VI. fol. 140.
[f] Ibid. fol. 142.

tant je desire que de vous veoir. Et le Roy, Monsr. et frere fait toute extreme diligence pour mon alee de la la mer[a] qui au plaisir de Dieu sera briesve, vous suppliant Monsr. me vouloir cependant pour ma tressinguliere consolacion souuent faire scavoir de voz nouuelles ensemble voz bons et agreables plaisirs pour vous y obeir et complaire aidant nostre Createur qui vous doivt Monsr. bonne vie et longuement bien prosperer. De la mainde

Vrē bien humble
Compaigne

A Monsr. MARIE.

LETTER XXXIX.

Mary Queen of France to King Henry the Eighth.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. D. VI. fol. 253. *Orig.*]

*** Henry the Eighth and his Court accompanied the young Queen to Dover, whence on the second of October she sailed to Boulogne. She reached Abbeville on the 8th. and was married on the 9th. of that month. The original List of the persons who went in her retinue, *signed by Louis himself*, is still preserved among the Cottonian Manuscripts[b]; though strange as it may seem, almost the whole were dismissed the morning after her marriage. "The Tewesdaye, being the x. daye of October," says Hall, "all

[a] *sc.* au delà de la mer.

[b] "It was as follows:

"Premierement
Mons. le Conte de Nrushere.
Maistre docteur Denton aumosmer.
Messe. Richard Blounte escuyer de scuierie.
Le filz de Mons. Roos, } Enffans d'onneur.
Le filz de Mons. Cobham, } Enffans d'onneur.
Le filz de Messe. Seymor, } Enffans d'onneur.
Evrard frère du Marquis.
Arthus Polle, frere de Monsr. de Montagu.
Le Poulayn.
Francoye Buddis, huissier de Chambre.

th'Englishmen except a fewe that were officers with the sayde Quene, were discharged; whiche was a great sorowe for theim, for some had served her long in hope of prefermente, and some, that had honest romes, lefte them to serve her; and now they were with out service; which caused them to take thought, in so much that some dyed by the way returning, and some fell mad; but ther was no remedy." The Queen's own account of this Transaction will be found in this, and the following Letter. Mother Guldeford who is so particularly mentioned in these Letters, was apparently the Governess, or, as she was sometimes called, the Mother to the Maids of Honor.

My good Brother as hertly as I can I recomaund me unto your Grace, mervelynge moch that I never herd from you syns . . . re depertynge, so often as I have sent and wrytten to you. And now am I left post a lone in effect; for on the morn next after . . . e maryage my chambirlayn with all other men servants wer dischargd and in lyke wyse my mother Guldeford with other my women and maydyns, except such as never had experiens nor knowlech how to advertyse or gyfe me counsell yn any tyme of nede, which is to be fered more schortly then your Grace thought at the tyme of my depertynge, as my mother Guldeford can more playnly schew your Grace then I cann wryt; to whom I beseche you to gyve credens. And yf hit may be by eny meane possible, I humbly requyr you to cause my seyd mother Guldeford to repayr hither

Maistre Guille, Medicin.
Henry Calays varler des robes.
Robert Wast.
Madamoyselle Grey, seur du Marquis.
Madamoyselle Marie finis fille de Monsr. Dacres.
Madamoyselle Elizabet seur de Monsr. Grey.
Madamoyselle Boleyne.
Maistres Anne Jenyngham, femme de Chambre.
Johanne Barnesse, chamberiere."

once agayn. For ells if any chauns happe other then weale I schall not knowe wher nor of whom to aske any good counsell to your pleasur, nor yet to myn own proffit. I merveill moche that my Lord of Northfolke wold at all tymes so lyghtly graunt every thynge at ther reqwests here. I am weale assured that when ze know the trouth of every thyng as my mother Guldeford can schew you, ze wold full lyttyll have thowght I schold have ben thus intreated: that wold God my Lord of Zorke had com with me yn the rome of Northfolke: for then am I sure I schuld have bene left moch more at my herti . . . . then I am now. And thus I byd your Grace fare weale with . . . . . as ever had Prince; and more hertis ease then I have now . . . . .[a] Abvile the xij[th]. day of October.

. . . . . gef gredens to my mowder
Geldeford. Be your lowyng
syster MARY QUENE
OF FRANCE.

LETTER XL.

Mary Queen of France to Thomas Wolsey, then Archbishop of York.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. D. VI. fol. 143. *Orig.*]

. . . I recomaund me un to you as hertly as I can, and as schoth . . . . intreated as the kynge and you

[a] From.

thought, I schuld have ben, for . . . . the morn next after the maryage, all my servants, both men and women . . .[a] dyscharged. Insomoch that my mother Guldeford was also dischargyd, whom as ze knowe the kynge and zou willed me in eny wyse to be cowncelled. But for eny thynge I myght do, yn no wyse myght I have any graunt for her abode here, which I assure you my lord is moch to my discomffort; besyd meny other discomffortis that ze wold full lyttyll have thought. I have not zet seen yn Fraunce eny lady or jentill woman so necessary for me as sche ys nor zet so mete to do the kynge my brother service as sche ys. And for my part my lord, as ze love the kynge my broder and me, fynd the meanes that sche may yn all hast com hither agayn, for I had as lefe lose the wynnynge I schall have yn France as to lose her counsell when I schall lacke it, which is not like long to be required, as I am sure the nobill men and jentillmen can schew you more then becometh me to wryte yn this matter. I pray you my Lord gyf credens forther to my moder Guldeford yn every thyng concernynge thys matter. And albehit my Lord of Northfollke h . .[b] nethyr deled best with me nor zet with her at thys tyme: zet I pray you allwayes to be good lord un to her. And wold to God my . . . . . had ben so good to have had zou with me hither when I ha . . . . rd[c] of Northfolke. And thus fare ze weale

[a] were. [b] *f.* hath. [c] had my lord.

My Lord. Wryt . . . . . ile[a] the xij[the]. daye of Octobr.

My Lord I pray you gyve credens to my
. . . . . ord yn my sorows she have delyve .
. . . Yowr on whyl I lefe

MARY . . . . . .

To my lovynge frend
Th'archebischop of Zorke.

LETTER XLI.

Mary Queen of France to Wolsey, after the death of Louis the Twelfth.

[MS. COTTON. VESP. F. XIII. fol. 202 b. *Orig.*]

*** On the fifth of November 1514 Mary was crowned at St. Denis, the Duke d'Angouleme, afterwards Francis the First, holding the Crown over her head during the greater part of the ceremony on account of its weight. On the sixth she made her Entry into Paris. The Pageant prepared for this occasion occurs in a beautifully illuminated Manuscript in the Cottonian Collection, marked Vespasian B. II.: the Allegory of which, somewhat in imitation of the Marriage between Margaret and James the Fourth, runs upon the Union of the LILLY and the Rose. The rejoicings of the Parisians were great. The reader, it is presumed, will not be displeased at the insertion here of one of the Parisian ballads.

"CHANÇON FAICTE EN L'HONNEUR
DE MADAME MARIE.

Reveillez vous cueurs endormis
Qui des Anglois estes amys
Chantons *Ave* MARIA.
La Thoison d'Or et le pourpris
Des Chasteaulx, Aigles, et des litz
Joyra Dame Maria.
Reveillez vous, &c.

Marie fille du vray litz
Henry septiesme Roy de pris
Prince sur tous les Princes.
Reveillez vous, &c.

[a] *s.* Written from Abbeville

Delyvrela de grans ennuys
Tout Flandres de ses ennemys
Remontant les Eglises.
Reveillez vous, &c.

Rejoissez vous je vous diz, Chantez
Bourgunynons tous unis
A ce hault mariage,
Reveillez vous, &c.

Car dicy a nulle foiz dix
Ne fera ny fut au pais
Tel paix, tel lignaige.
Reveillez vous, &c.

Nous pryeions, grans et petis,
Que les Roys soient tous bons amys
Et paix par tout le monde.
Reveillez vous, &c.

Et que en la fin en Paradis
Noel chantons tous resirays
De voix et de cueur munde.
Reveillez vous, &c.[a]

Louis the Twelfth was in declining health at the time of his marriage. At the Justs which succeeded the reception of the Queen, it is said he "was feeble, and lay upon a couche for weakenes." He died, on the first of January following, having been married eighty-two days only.

The following Letter, written on the ninth day after the death of Louis, will be thought a little curious, as it refers to advice which Wolsey had taken upon him to give the Queen, even at that early period, not to promise herself immediately in marriage[b].

My nanne good Lord, I recomend me to yow and thankyng yow for yor kynde and lovyng Letter, dyssyryng yow of yor good contenevans and good lessones that yow hathe gyffen to me; my lord, I pray yow as my trust ys in yow, for to remember me to the Kyng my brother, for sowche causses and bessynes as I have for to do; for as now I have no nother[c] to put my trust in but the Kyng my brother and yow.

[a] MS. Cotton. Jul. A. III. fol. 1 b.

[b] He might possibly have had an eye to Francis the First. Henault says, "Le comte d'Angouleme devint amoureux de la jeune reine, mais on lui fit appercevoir qu'il couroit risque de ce donner un maitre." Hist. Abreg. p. 366.

[c] none other.

And as yt shall ples the Kyng my brother and hys Counsell I wolbe horderd [a]. And so I pray yow, my lord, to show hys Grace, seyng that the Kyng my howsbande ys departed to God, of whos sole God pardon. And wher as yow a vyse me that I shulde macke no promas, My Lord, I trust the Kyng my brother and yow wole nat reken in me sovche chyldhode. I trust I have so horderd [a] my selffe so sens [b] that I came hether, that I trust yt hathe ben to the honar of the Kyng my brother and me, sens I come hether, and so I trust to contenew. Yff ther be any thynge that I may do for yow I wold be glade for to do yt in thys partes. I shalbe glade to do yt for yow. No more to you at thys tyme but Jhs preserve yow. Wretten at Pares the x. day of January 1515.

By yowr lowyng
frende MARY
QUENE OF FRANCE.

To my Lorde of Yorke.

LETTER XLII.

Mary the French Queen to King Henry the Eighth, requesting him to send for her from France.

[MS. COTTON. VESP. F. III. fol. 17 b.]

My most kynde and lovyng brother, I humbly recōmand me vnto yowr Grace, thankyng yow interly of yowr comfortable Letters; besechyng yowr grace

[a] ordered. [b] since.

most humbly now so to contenwe toward me and my frendes, as owr spessyale trowst ys yn yowr Grace; and that yt may layke you wt all convennynte to sende for me that I may shortely se yowr grace wyche ys the thyng that I most dissyr yn thys world and I and all myn ys at yowr gracs commandmente and playsayr. At Parys the vj. day of Marche.

by yowr lowyng
suster

MARY.

To the Kings Grace
thes be delivered.

LETTER XLIII.

Mary Queen of France to King Henry VIIIth.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. B. VI. fol. 106. *Orig.*]

*** Grainger, in his Biographical History of England, says it is pretty clear that Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolk had gained the affections of Mary before she was married to Louis the Twelfth, as, soon after the death of that monarch she plainly told him, that if he did not free her from all her scruples within a certain time she would never marry him. His casuistry succeeded within the time limited, and she became his wife. This, Grainger adds, was probably with Henry's connivance. But Hall tells the story more favourably to Mary. He says that, when Henry was advertised of her purpose to return to England, "he sent the Duke of Suffolke, Syr Richard Wyngfeld, and Doctor West with a goodly bande of yomen, all in black, to Parys, whiche were well receyved of the new French King, Fraunces the First of the name, and declared to him, that, according to the covenauntes made at the tyme of the mariage betwene King Loyes and the lady Marie, sister to the Kinge of Englande, they demanded to have the said Quene delivered to them with her dower; and shewed their commission for the re-

ceite of her. Then the counsaill of France, accordinge to the appointmentes assigned her a dower, and the Duke of Suffolke put in officers, and then she was by endenture delivered to the Duke, which behaved himself so to her, that he obteyned her good will to be her husbande, and therupon he wrote to the King her brother, mekely besechyng hym of pardon of his request and humbly requiring him of his wil and consent, at which thynge the Kyng awhile staied, and at the last by the meane of the Frenche Quene herselfe, and other great frendes on the dukes parte, after long suyte, it was agreed that the Duke of Suffolke should bring her into England unmaryed, and at his retorne to mary her in England: but for doubt of chaunge he maryed her secretely in Parys as was sayde"[a].

The open solemnity of this Marriage took place subsequently at Calais. But certain it is that Henry the Eighth, in a very short time, afflicted to be displeased at it. Several of Mary's Letters to appease him are still remaining[b], though much injured by fire. In one, she says, "Pleasythe yt yowr Grace to my hertyest dyscomforte, sorow, and dysconsolacyon, but lately I have been afartysed[c] of the grete and hye desplaysowr wyche yowr Hynes berythe to me and my Lord of Sowffolke, for the maryage betwene us. Where I wele[d] not in ony wyse denye bwte that I have offendyd yowr Grace, for the wyche I do pwt[f] my selefe[g] most humbly in yowr clemens[h] and marcy." She next proceeds to assure him that she did not enter into the marriage "of any synswale appetyde:" and here the intelligible portion of the Letter ends.

A reconciliation however soon took place. The Duke of Suffolk, who had been brought up with Henry, not only knew his disposition but how to conform to it. His skill in, as well as love for martial exercises, suited Henry's taste: and he appears never to have been presumptuous in consequence of his connexion with royalty. The motto on a label appended to his lance, in the Picture of Mary and him at Strawberry Hill, indicates his knowledge of the world, at least in this instance:

> "Cloth of gold do not despise,
> Though thou be match'd with cloth of frize:
> Cloth of frize be not too bold,
> Though thou be match'd with cloth of gold."

The conformity which Mary and the Duke of Suffolk shewed to Henry's inclinations cannot be better explained than in the following Letter.

My most derest and ryt entierly belowyde Lord . . .[i] brothare, yn my most humble wys I recommande

[a] Hall, edit. 1809. p. 582. [b] MS. Cotton. Calig. D. VI. fol. 242 & seqq.
[c] advertised. [d] will. [e] but. [f] put. [g] self. [h] clemency. [i] and.

me unto yowr Grace, shawynge unto yowr Grace that I do a pa . . . . by my Lord my howsbande that y . .[a] ar playsayde and contentyde that he shale resorde[b] on to yowr presence at swche[c] tyme as yowr Grace shale be at hys maner of Donyngton, wherby I se wele he hys merwosly[d] rejoysyd and moche comfortyd that yt hathe lyked your Grace so to be playsayd; for the wyche yowr specyale goodnys to hym showyd yn that be halfe, and for sondry and many oder yowr kyndnes, as wele to me as to hym showed and gewyn yn dyvers cawsys, I most humbly thanke yowr Grace; assewryng yow that for the same I accompt my selfe as moche bonden un to yowr Grace as ewer[e] swster was to brother: and accordyng ther un to I shale to the beste of my powr dowryng my lyef, endver myselfe as ferre as in me shale be possyble to do the thyng that shale stond with yowr playsowr, and yf it had be tyme convenyente to yowr Grace hade be ther wythe pleassyd I wolde most gladly have accompanyd my sayd Lord yn thys yowrnay[f]. Bwt I trowst that bowthe I and my sayd Lord shal se yow acordyng as yowr Grace worte[g] yn yowr laste Letters unto my sayde Lord, wych ys the thyng that I dessyr more to opteyn than all the honor off the Worlde. And thws I beseche owre Lorde to send unto yow, my most dereste and enterly be lowyd brother and Lord, long and pros-

[a] you. [b] resort. [c] such. [d] marvellously.
[e] ever. [f] journey. [g] wrote.

perows lyfe with the fole accomplyshment of al yowr honorable dessyrs, most humbly prayeng yowr Grace that I may be humbly recomanded unto my most derest and beste be lowyd suster the Quene Grace, and to the Quene off Scottys my welbelowyd suster, trowstyng that she be asserteyned frome yowr Grace of the prosperows estate and helthe of my everly beloved ny. . .[a] the prences, to home I pray God send long lyfe. Frome Letheryng in Swf[b] the ix. day off Septembur, by the hand of yowr lowyng suster

MARY QUENE OFF FRANCE.

LETTER XLIV.

King Henry the Eighth to Cardinal Wolsey.

[MS. COTTON. VESP. F. III. fol. 34 b. *Orig.*]

*** There is nothing in the contents of this Letter to fix its date with precision. It was evidently written at one of those times when Henry hoped for a son from Catherine of Arragon; and, from the address of "My lord Cardinal," with which it begins, it could not have been written before 1515: in the summer of which year, says Hall, "a letter was brought to the archbishop from Rome, certifying him how he was elected to be a Cardinal, which incontinent shewed the same to the King, disabling himself in words, though his entent was otherwise; and so the King did encourage him, and willed him to take the order on him, and so called him *My lord Cardinal.*"

Queen Catherine was probably pregnant at this time with the Princess Mary.

And here, perhaps, it may not be entirely irrelevant to remark, that

[a] nyphews. [b] Suffolk.

though our Historians, generally speaking, name three children only as the issue of Henry and Catherine, yet one or two writers speak of more. Mason, in his Vindiciæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, p. 147. says of Henry, "Katharinam in uxorem anno 1509, tertio nonas Junii, palam acciperet. Quid multis? Viginti annos cum illa versatur, TRES FILIOS DUASQUE FILIAS ex eadem procreat. Quorum tamen nullus diu vixit, si unicam Mariam excepero:" and this is in some degree corroborated by Cardinal Pole, who in his Apol. ad Car. V. Cæs. p. 162. says, "LIBEROS PLURES ex ea suscepit. Si vero reliqui decesserint, at unam reliquit."

My Lord Cardinall I recommand vnto yow as hartely as I can, and I amme ryght glade to here of your good helthe, whyche I pray god may long contynv. So it is that I have resavyd your letters, to the whyche (by cause they aske long wrytyng) I have made answar by my Secretary. Tow thyyngs ther be whyche be so secrete that they cause me at thys tyme to wrytte to yow myselfe; the won is that I trust the quene my wyffe be with chylde; the other is chefe cause why I am soo lothe to repayre to London ward, by cause aboght thys tyme is partly off her dangerus tymes and by cause off that I wolde remeve har as lyttyll as I may now. My lord I wrytt thys vnto [you] nott as a ensuryd thyng but as a thyng wherin I have grette hoppe and lyklyodes; and by cause I do well know that thys thyng wyll be comfortabyll to yow to understand: therfor I do wrytt itt unto yow at thys tyme. No more to yow att thys tyme, nisi quod Deus velit inceptum opus bene finiri. Wryttyn with the hand off your lovyng Prynce

HENRY R.

LETTER XLV.

Margaret Queen of Scotland to Lord Dacre.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. B. VI. fol. 84. *Orig.*]

*** This and the four succeeding Letters of Margaret Queen of Scotland are rather specimens of her epistolary style, than historical illustrations. The Letter immediately before the reader appears to have been written by her in September 1515, when she was solicited by Lord Dacre to leave Scotland. The next Letter, to Wolsey, seems to have been written after she had reached England. The third is to Henry the Eighth, when upon her journey to London, in 1516. The fourth and fifth are to Wolsey: one, asking for a supply of money; the other respecting her going to Baynards Castle. "The Queen of Scotts," says Lord Herbert, "coming to London May 3d. 1516, was much welcomed by the King, the Queen and her sister Queen Mary, who all enjoyed therein a happiness rare for Princes in that kind, which was to see one another after they were once disposed of abroad." Margaret returned to Scotland in the month of June 1517.

MY LORDE DAKERS

I COMEND me to zou as hartely as I can, and I have seen zour vryteng[a] and ondarstande at length, and I parcayve that ze ar nouht sykerly[b] informyd in what stat I stand in, for ze trow yat I may pas vhar ever I vyl vyshe, is nowht trw[c]; but yes[d] berrar can schow zou ye trowht[e] of all, and vhat my mynd is, and how I am constraynd to doo a gan my vyl. And I pray zou gyf hm[f] kredens as ze valde doo to my selfe, for it is owr lang[g] to vryt, for I have gret trast in yes[d] man. And send me zour uter mynd and ansuer in all thyng: and God kype zou. Vryten vy[h]t my hand yes[d] Monday.

Zour frend

MARGARET R.

[a] writing. [b] surely. [c] true. [d] this. [e] truth. [f] him. [g] over long. [h] with.

LETTER XLVI.

Margaret Queen of Scotland to Cardinal Wolsey.

[MS. COTTON. VESP. F. III. fol. 36. *Orig.*]

My lorde Cardnal I comand[a] me hartly to zou, and I am glad to here that ze doo vell, and I have ressauet a letter from you and a nother from my lorde Dakers vher of I beleffe you know the effeyt. Ze vryte to me that sych parssons as he sent for my maters in to Scotland trust to be vell ansuerd, and hath sent to me sysch vrytengs as thay sent to hym. But my lorde I am gladar of the tydengs that the Kyngs grace teld me of the Duk of Albane, that he vyl com hyther, vysche I besech God may be trw, but I dred it be not. My lorde I thynke ryght longe vyhil I speke vyth you, for next the Kyngs grace my most trust is in you, and you may doo me moste good of any, and I pray you my lorde as soon as any body comes out of Scotland that you vyl send me vorde, for I thynke long tyl I here tydengs. No more: but God have zou in hys kypeng

Zour frend

MARGARET R.

[a] command.

LETTER XLVII.

Margaret Queen of Scotland to King Henry the VIIIth.

A. D. 1516.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. B. I. fol. 20 b. *Orig.*]

DEREST broder as hartly as I can I recomend me onto you, and let you vyt that yesternyght I cam hyther, soo beyng confortted of you in my jornay in many and soondry wyses that, lovyng be to our Lorde God, I am in ryght good heal, and as joyous of my sayd Jornay towarde you as ony woman may be in commyng to her broder, as I have gret cause, and am moost desirous now to com to your presens and to have sight of your person, in whom next God, is myn oonly trust and confydens: advertissing you derest brotder I have reseved thys day a Letter from my soons ambassadors, now at London, which Leter I send on to you heryinne closed, and have adressed on to them myn ansuer severally in twoe sondery lettres, copy wher of I all so sende on to you, that apon notice had of the same it may lyke you to comand whether of the said letters ye seme besst at your plessur shall be delyverd. And the Holy Trenyte have you my most derest broder in tuycion and governance. At Stony Stretford the xxvij. day of Apryll.

Zour loveng suster

Unto my dereste broder the King's Grace.

MARGARET.

LETTER XLVIII.

Queen Margaret to Cardinal Wolsey.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. B. I. fol. 202.]

My Lorde Cardinal I comand me to you, and I vould fayne have spokyn vyth you but ye var gon or I coud cam to you and therfor I most vryt to you my mynde. My Lorde I beseche you to schw your gud mynd to me, as ye have doon ever, but specyaly now, for now ys the tyme. Me Lorde I pray you hartly to get me som monne aganst . . yr day for ye knaw vell I moust gyf part of rewards and other nedful thynge both for the kyng my brothers honour and myne: and I schal not put you in no more troubul but I be sysch you hartly my Lorde that I may have it to morow at nyght at the farest: for ells I vyl be dysapointtyd. But I put my hooll trust in you, and thys berar schal wayt apon you for your ansuer as our Lord knouth wham kype you

Margaret R.

On To my Lorde Kardenall.

LETTER XLIX.

Queen Margaret to Cardinal Wolsey.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. B. I. fol. 251.]

My Lorde Cardnal I comand me to you as hartly as I can and vyt ze my lorde that I have spokyn vyt

James Aborrow and he hath schwn to me that ze and the lordys of Cownsel vould not that I schuld cam to Bayners castel to day. My Lorde I wyl doo as ze thynke best but I pray you my Lorde as hartly as I can gyf ther be no trubyl to day to lat me com to morow. I trust to God ther schal be noo lych trobyl but that I may cam to morow for and it be vell thys nyght I trust to god the varst be past. And my Lorde I have I part of thyngs to doo that I most nedes have doon that vyll be nedfol to me. I pray my lorde to lat me have your aunsuer vyth thes berar and God have you in hys kypeng.

Yours

MARGARET R.

To my Lorde Cardnal.

LETTER L.

Thomas Lord Dacre to Cardinal Wolsey. A. D. 1516. *boasting that he maintains and gives rewards to Scottish Outlaws.*

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. B. I. fol. 150. *Orig.*]

MY Lord, pleas it your Grace I have receyved a Lettre from Clarencieux King at Armes[a] to be sende

[a] Thomas Benolt was appointed Clarencieux in 1510. He died May 8th. 1534.

unto your Grace, also I have receyved an oder Lettre sent to my self from the said Clarencieux wherby I perceyve, and by such mutuall communicacion as hath bene betwene us twayn, aswell sens his departure from your Grace as afore, there was tokyns devised betwene us howe I shuld knowe as he sped, and howe he shuld knowe what practises as I dalt withall.

Wherupon by his said lettre to me nowe directed I perceyve that it resteth upon the aunsuer of the Frenche Kinge commyng with Lafaycte. And because I se that he gooth not so shortely to werke, but dryveth the tyme, I labor and studies all that I can to make division and debate to thentent that if the Duke woll not applie hym self, that thenne that debate may growe that it shalbe impossible to hym to do justice: and for that entended purpose in that behalf I have the Maister of Kilmawers kepte in my howse secretely, whiche is oon of the greatest parties in Scotlande; as the Quene canne declare unto your Grace, or any other Scotts man, if it like your Grace to demande them. And also I have secrete messages from th'erle of Angus and oder, whiche I truste shalbe to the pleasor of the Kings Grace if the said Duke applie not hymself: and also hath ccccth. owtlawes (and geveth them rewardes) that burneth and destroyeth dayly in Scotlande; all being Scottsmen whiche shuld be undre the obeysaunce of Scotlande. And if the said Duke woll applie hym to the Kings pleasor then shall all these

practises be voyde and of none effect: and the said Maister of Kilmawers to be putte to his owne fende at his libertie in secrete maner.

And affor any of the Kings subjects that maketh any defaulte contrary to the last Recesse, I shall aunsuer therfore, wherby the Kings grace shall not be chargied.

The viij^th^ daye of this moneth I sent into Scotlande the M^r^. of the College of Graistok with such oder persons as I nominated to your Grace in the Quenes Commission for reysing and leveing of her conjuncte feoffement, and for receyving of her plate and jewells according to the said laste Recesse made by the Ambassadors of Scotlande: where as, they were well takyn with, with the said Duke, and where as Clarencieux was present. And there deliverance was that they should go to the Quenes dominions and lands, and there to receyve her rents and revenues, and caused Ros harrold[a], and Davy Purves sergeant at Armes, to go with theym to se if any wold disobey theym. And as further newes occurres worthy advertisement your Grace shalbe advertised with all diligence. And the Holy Trinite have your Grace in his preservacion. At Kirkoswald the xxiij. daye of Auguste

Yowrs with hyes[b] serves

THOMAS DACRE,

To my Lorde Cardinallis
Grace.

[a] herald. [b] his.

LETTER LI.

Dr. Cuthbert Tunstall to King Henry the Eighth concerning Maximilian's proposal to resign the Empire to Henry. A. D. 1517.

[MS. COTTON. GALBA B. V. fol. 72. *Orig.*]

*** Hume states that *Richard Pace* was the person who warned Henry the Eighth of Maximilian's motives in his offer to resign the Empire.

The ambassadors, however, to whom the offer was made, were the Earl of Worcester, and Dr. Cuthbert Tunstall afterwards bishop of Durham; and the communication of it to Henry, as is evident from the following Letter, was left to TUNSTALL alone. In another Letter, from the Emperor's Court, he says, "Here we find great dissimulation and fair words, but no promises be kept." A consolatory Letter from this prelate to the King upon the death of Jane Seymour in 1537, is printed in Burnet's Appendix.

PLESE it your Grace to undirstond that besids al other maters contenyd in our Lettres jointly written at thys tyme to your Grace, oon is in them untowchyd by cause I wold not make my clerke privey to the secretie theroff, which yff I shold not to longe have taried the last curror[a] save thys, I shold then have written. But by cause then we wer sent for to come to th'emperor commissionars, and our Lettres wer redy written contenyng a longe discurse and declaration off many mattres shewyd by the Cardinal Sedunensis which was necessary your Grace shold know in al haste, we therfor not knowinge how long th'emperors commissioners shuld lete[b] us, dispached that poste, reservyng thys to

[a] courier. [b] let, hinder.

be written by my selff at laysor which then I had not. The thinge is this. The said Cardinal Sedunens. in makinge his long discurse hertofor by us written, emongest other things shewyd me that oon off the secrete mater stretyd betuyx th'emperor and your Grace was that th'emperor entendeth to resigne the Empire unto your Grace, and to obten your Election by hys procurement and sollicitinge off the Electors therunto, which th'mperor entendyd to do for the avancement of your honor and the love which he berith you. Which mater when I herd I lete as I nothynge had marked it, and lete hym passe on in tellynge off his tale which endyd in thys, that thys thynge shold be oon off the secrete maters treatid by hym betwix th'Emperor and your Grace. Sire besids that I am your Graces subject and servant, and sworn off your counsel thoff[a] unworthi, your Grace hath also shewyd so largely your bounteousnes and liberalite anenst me that I ougth mo to desire the incresement and augmentation off your Graces honor then any servaunt to your Grace belonginge. Which I assure your Grace I doo tendre as moch to my symple powar as any subjiet in your realme or ellys it wer pitie I shuld lyve. And lykwyse yff therbe any thynge soundinge to your Grace's damage or hynderaunce iff I shold concele it; ther coud no pain be to great for me. Wherfor I most humbly besech your Grace to accepte graciously and favorably the

[a] though.

thinge which now I write both for the ardent love which I bere unto your Grace, and for the accomplishment off my dutie. Surly yff it lyke your Grace I thinke the said Election off your Grace to th'empire cannot be brogth aboute by no means, for diverse considerations. Fyrste that lyke as in the Election off the Pope a certain forme is to be kept which not observed makith the Election to be voyd, so off auncient tyme and ordinaunce off the universale churche a certain forme must be observyd in chesinge off th'emperor, which ometted, the Election is voyde. Oon of the cheffe points in the Election off th'emperor is that he which shal be electyd must be off Germanie subgiet to [the] Empire; wheras your Grace is not, nor never sithen the Cristen faith the Kings of Englond wer subgiet to th'empire. But the Crown of Englond is an Empire off hitselff mych bettyr then now the Empire of Rome: for which cause your Grace werith a close Crown. And therfor yff ye wer chosen, sens your Grace is not off th'empire the Election wer voide. And iff your Grace shuld accepte the said Election therby ye must confesse your realme to be under subjection off th'empire to the perpetual prejudice off your successor, or ells the said Election wer voyde as made off a person not eligible. Besids that the forme off the Election contenyth that first he must be Kinge of Romains and the coronation at Rome makith hym have the name off the Emperor, wher befor he is callyd but

Kinge off Romains. Over thys yff th'emperor which nou is remain stil Kyng off Romains as I understond he entendeth to doo, then yff your Grace wer eligible and undir th'empire, yet ye coud not be chosen Emperor, by cause ye were never Kinge of Romains. And also he remanyng ye could not be chosen Kynge off Romains, bycause the Kingdome is not voyde, and noon can be chosen therto but when it is voyd edyr by dethe or ellys when the Kinge off Romains is crownyd Emperor, wherby undir hym may be chosen a Kinge off Romains. The said Empire also (as it is now establyshed) may not have two Emperors at oon tyme, but oon as cheff, and the odyr as here[a] apparaunt, which is callyd the Kinge off Romains, wher he must begyn that wyl come to th'empire. For which considerations I repute it impossible (the laws theron made stondinge) that your Grace may be chosen. And I am afferd lest the said offer beinge so speciouse at the first heringe was oonly made to get therby sum money of your Grace: Which they move to have kepte secret lest the publyshynge off it shuld make their intent to be knowen, and frustrate them off thir purpose befor they coud acheve it. Surly yff it lyke your Grace my simple advise is that your Grace interpretinge al to the beste, and the said offer to be made rather off th'emperors good mynd and grete benivolence then for odyr purpose, yff the mater shal herafter be set forward or

[a] heir.

movyd to gyff most exquisite thanks to th'emperor for his good mynd therin: which peraventure may procede off good benivolence, and so to withdraw your fote bake out off that mater, and to make good interpretation opon so grete an offer, which shal be most honorable. Thus in thys mater I have shewed my simple advise and mynd; which, I thougth, my dutie savyd, I could not kepe close from your Grace, wherin I trust such as be lernyd in the law far bettyr then I wil afferme the same if it lyke your Grace to make them privey to it. And iff I doo erre, as I suppose I do not, I submitte to reformation besechinge your Grace graciously to accepte my trew mynde and rygth meanyng in thys mater, which I have touchyd for my discharge lest herafter it mygth be imputyd to me not to have shewyd it in tyme when it came first to my knowlege. In al other maters at thys tyme we have written at large how her we find not al persons inclyned at [a] it was thougth they shold be. And thus Almyghty Jhū preserve your Grace to his plesur with encrese off mych honor. From Machlyn the xijth day of Februarie

By your most humble
subjecte and servaunt
CUTHBERT TUNSTAL.

[a] as.

LETTER LII.

Sir Richard Wingfield to King Henry the Eighth. March 16th 1519.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. D. VII. fol. 182. *Orig.*]

*** Four days after the signing of the Treaties concluded at London on the fourth of October 1518, for the marriage of the Princess Mary with the Dauphin of France, the delivery of Tournay to the French, and the mutual prevention of depredations, a farther Treaty was concluded for an Interview between Henry the Eighth and Francis the First, which Interview was agreed to be had before the end of July following at Sandifield, situated beyond Calais, between the limits of the respective territories. To this Agreement the following Letter from Sir Richard Wingfield to King Henry the Eighth alludes. The Interview, however, was put off till 1520, in consequence of the death of the Emperor Maximilian, the succession to whose dignity excited a rivalship between Francis the First and Charles King of Castile, the grandson of Maximilian.

PLEASE yt your Highnesse to understand that the xiiij.th day of this Month I wrote to your Grace my last Lettres, and as yesterday, at afternone the Great Master came from Saynt Germains there as the King lieth, hither to this Town, and as soon as I hard[a] that he was come I went to him to his lodging where I found with him the Chaunceller, the bishop of Paris, Robertet, and Vyl Roy, wher he toold me that he had commoned with the King his Master of the Meeting and Entreview that shuld be betwixt your Highnesse and hym, and made me to sytt down with them and sayd I shuld have aunswer to every Article of myn Instruc-

[a] heard.

tions concernyng the said Entreview and Meeteng. And first told me that as to the tyme of the meting the King here is content, and thinketh it convenient to be in the myddest of the moneth of July, as your Grace hath devysed.

And as to the place of the first meting which they think necessarye is to be in a place neutrall, which place I have rehersed to them hath been viewed by th'Erle of Worcester and the Captayn of Bolayn [a], he sayth the King here is content with that if better can nat be founde. Howbeit the Great Master sayeth that if it pleased your Highnesse to be lodged at Guysnes, and the King here to be lodged at Arde which is but a league asonder he thinketh it most convenyent. Orels [b] if good serch were made by some oon of Calais such as it would please your Highnesse t'appoint, and the King here t'appoint another, there mought be found, upon the borders there, more convenyent place than that, seing that there is noo houses nor village nere it.

And as to the next article of myn Instructions, which is that both your Highnesse and the King here, the Queens, and all the nobles shuld mete on horsebacke, and after th'imbracyng of eche other familiarly they shuld repaire streyt to Calais; as to the meting and embrasyng one an other a horsback without discendyng, he sayth the King here thinketh it very good, and is content therewith, whersomever the Meting shal be;

[a] Boulogne. [b] or else.

but to repaire strayt from thens to Calais and specially at the first tyme, he sayeth the King his Master will not consent therto, and thinketh it were not convenient, but sayth it were better that your Highnesse were lodged in somme village within the Englysh pale if any may be found there according, and if nat in your tents and pavyllions, seeing that it is in summer, and he to doo so likewise for his part within his ground uppon his . . . whither ich[a] of you might repaire to other after your first . . .[b] at your plesures: and sayth that after the first day of meting . . . of good congruence must nedes be in a place neutrall both for your honnors and in contentation of your Pepull, the next day after the King and the Quene here shal be content to come and vysyte your Highnesse and the Quenes Grace wheresomever your lodging be, so that it be without Calais. And to induce them that the King Highness might come to Calais I have shewed them all the considerations which bee recyted at lenght in myn Instructions: shewing them . . .[c] without his comming to Calais as in my said Instruccyons moch of the honnor of the said Meting shal be lost: and that it cannot bee soo honorably doon as it shuld be if it pleased hym to come to Calais. Also for their further contentation and to meve[d] them to come to Calais without stoppe or difficultie I have shewed them as is in th'instruccions: that inasmoch as your Grace shall not

[a] each. [b] *f.* meting. [c] *f.* that. [d] move.

oonly . . . and take a right great journey before you come to the See, but also must passe the See which is painfull, laborous, and duangerous: and after so long passage to mete with the Kinge . . .[a] at a place syted in the confynes of his own Realme having his hoole power at his backe, where as your Highnesse commyth with a small companye, your puissaunce being seperate from you by the mayn See, who so ever shall see or considre thesame must judge that by your said comming over the See to hym and m . . . . .[b] first in the place newtrall, by reason whereof your Highnesse commytteth your noble personne to the trust, confidence, and a . . . . of the King here. In consideration whereof if the King here . . . . . .[c] Calais at youre Graces desire, the honnor and preemynence . . . .[d] his as of reason it ought so to be. And as your Grace is the . . . . aggréable accordingly, and for an equall corespondent I have . . .[e] the great Master that your Highnesse woll not stycke to v . . . . .[f] here in his town of Bolayne if your Grace be therunto req . . . .[g] Whereunto they made me aunswer in making as great dyf . . .[h] your Grace shuld come to Bolayn as they doo that the King here shuld come to Calais, sayeng that by reason of the deth that has been there and is there yet, and also that the Towne . .[i] so . . . lykening it to a Dove hows, with many other

[a] *f.* here. [b] *f.* meting. [c] *f.* come to. [d] *f.* shall be. [e] *f.* told.
[f] *f.* visit him. [g] required. [h] difficulty that. [i] is.

excuses so that I perceyve well it is not their mynd to have your Highnesse to Bolayn sayeng that the King here woll nat comme there hymself.

Also the great Master, the Chaunceler, and the bisshop of Parys saye that if your Highnesse and the King here shuld bee both lodged owther in Calais or in Bolayn with both your traynes, which is at the lest a vj. thousand persones besides them of the Towne where myght by the reason of a varlett, or a page, or by a casueltye of fyer come any occasion of debate, or whereby myght ryse any alarm, it mought be to th'inquietness, disturbaunce, and daunger of you both. In example whereof the bisshop of Parys rehersed of a great fraye of fyer that was at Cambray at the great meeting there, which he sayth my lord of Norfolk can well tell of. Also the great Master consideryth that in July the time of the meeting shal be the hottest season of all the year, and whan folks drynk most, and thinketh that amongs such a multitude of pepull some dronken personne myght cause inconvenience. In eschewing whereof the great Master, the Chancellor, and the bishop of Parys be in the mind that nother the King here shuld come to Calais, nor your Grace should not come to Bolayn to lodge there. How be it, the great Master sayth that he thinketh verrily that if your Highnesse lye at Calais that the King his Master woll come, with a certain with him, and see your Grace in Calais in maskyr, and saith that after your

Grace and the King here have seen oones togyther he puttyth no doubte but that ye shall mete oftyn by your owne accorde.

Also they thinke it good and convenient that when it shall fortune your Highnesse and the Queen's grace with your trayne to be uppon his ground and in his domynion, that your Grace, the Queens Grace, and your trayn shall have the sovereignty, honnor, and the right hand, as they think that your pleasure shalbe to give the King here and his trayn the same, whan they shalbe in your grounde and in your domynyon.

And as to the nombre that shall come with your Grace to the meting that is comprised in a Rolle; wherof they have the copye; they think it very good, and woll order the Kings nombre here according to the same.

And also as to an Article in the said Instructions concerning the . . . of Apparell of every astate and personne, they think it . . . . . like it very well, and say that they woll drawe a booke of . . . . . .[a] Howe be it the great Master tellyth me that for all the Princes of the Sangue Ryall, which be Mess[rs] Delaunson, de Burbon, de Vandosme, de Seynt Poll, de la Rosche Furyon, and the chief Officers, as the Constable, the iij. Mareschalls, the great Master, th'Admirall, with divers other, can in no wise bee comprised in any . . .[b] for Array; but they to were[c] at their pleasure.

[a] *f.* the same. [b] *f.* Rolle. [c] wear.

This aunswer at . . . . this time, as touching your Meting and Enterview I have of the Great Master, which he hath promysed me with his furthur devise he woll delyver me in writing this day or to morrow.

He toold me also that he was specially charged by the King his Master, that he shuld speke to me to wryte to your Highnesse with diligence that when he sayth it was agreed betwixt your Highnesse and the King here that what tyme it shuld please God to send the Queens Grace a Prince or a Princesse, that the King here shuld be godfather to the Prince, or the Quene here to be godmother if it were a Princesse, and to bere the name after them. Soo the King here desireth your Highnesse at this tyme that if the Queen here shall have a sonne that it wold please your Grace to be godfather, and that it may be named after your Highnesse Har . . . .[a] if it be a doughter that it may be named after the Quene Kateryn; whereof he prayed me to wryte to your Grace and . . . . that the King here shuld wryte to his ambassador in E . . . .[b] of the same. Also he tellyth me that the Quene is at Sain . . . . . and is mery for a woman being in her case so nere her . . . .[c] and loketh every day to be delivered before th'ende of this . . . .[d] of March. And as to th'aunswer that I have for the . . . . of the Marchaunts I wryte at this time more at length . .[e] my Lord Legat and Cardinall of England. Beseeching

[a] *f.* Harry, and. [b] England. [c] time. [d] month. [e] to.

. . . . . Trinite long to preserve your Highnesse. From Parys this xvjth day of March.

(The signature burnt off.)

LETTER LIII.

Sir Thomas Boleyn to King Henry the Eighth, reporting the audience in which Francis the First received the promise of Henry's interest for the Empire. March 14th 1519.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. D. VII. fol. 100. *Orig.*]

*** Henry the Eighth, when the Imperial throne fell vacant, seems not to have known how to manage the power of which he was really possessed. He clearly promised his support to Francis the First as early as the month of March, as will be seen in the following Letter from his own ambassador: and the assertion is pretty strong in the succeeding Letter that he also promised his support to Charles of Castile; the Letter containing it was referred to by the French ambassador in Spain as in the hands of the bishop of Burgos. Subsequently, Henry sent Pace to the Electors to announce his own pretensions; but finding the Electors pre-engaged, and perhaps being unwilling to vie with his competitors in the distribution of treasure, he soothed his ambition with the reflection that he had solicited too late, and became altogether the dupe of his own duplicity. Pace's Commission to the Electors bears so late a date as May 19th 1519.

Unfortunately for the English Historian a large portion of the correspondence which relates to this Election suffered in the fire which has been so often mentioned; but many a curious scrap remains; nor will even fragments be despised when they relate to an event which formed as it were an æra in the general system of Europe.

The Emperor Maximilian died January the 22^{d}. 1519. William Knight, writing to Cardinal Wolsey from Wells in Austria, January the 14th, and noticing an audience which he had had, says "but syth that tyme of communication his Grace is so vanquished with sicknesse, which was at first a

catarre, and sythens a flux and fever contynuel, that now every man feryth, and almost despayreth of any recovery. I abyde th'ende."

Upon the Emperor's death, Henry directed Sir Thomas Boleyn, his ambassador at Paris, to sound the intentions of Francis. Sir Thomas saw him in his chamber as he returned from mass, where, having read a letter delivered to him from Henry, he took Sir Thomas to a window, who urged that the two Kings should "take a resolution by common assent." "Whereúnto," says Sir Thomas, "he bad me lene out at the window with him, and he would tell me what he had done in it, and his hole mynde what further he intended to doo." This appears in a Letter dated February the 9th. [a]

In another Letter of Sir Thomas Boleyn, to Wolsey, dated from Paris Feb. 28th. detailing a farther conversation with Francis, he says, "I was so famyliar with hym, that I asked hym in ernest if he were Emperour whether he wold make a voyage agenst the Infidels in his proper personń, as the voyce went. He tooke me hard by the wryst with the oon hand, and layed the other hand upon his brest, and sware to me by his feyth yf he atteyn to be Emperour, that within three yeares after he wold bee in Constantynople, or he would dye by the way." In talking still further of the enterprise, Francis told him that "his realme was to hym six millions yerely and over that in value;" and "that he wold spend three millions of gold" but he would succeed [b]. In another Letter to Wolsey dated March the 14th. Sir Thomas represents Francis to have said that now, since Henry and he were of a mind, neither Emperor nor Pope should be made but such as pleased them. This, it is probable, was a speech more especially intended for the ear of Wolsey.

From these notices of conversations, it will be seen that although the promise of Henry's interest for the Empire in favor of Francis, was not formally given till March the 14th. it had been verbally promised from the very time of the arrival of the first news of Maximilian's death.

PLEASYTH it your Highnesse to understand that yesterday I delyvered your lettre to the Kyng here with as harty and affectuous recommendacions from your Grace as I cowlde devise. And after he had at lenght and with good laysure read over your said lettre, I declared to hym for my credence, according to

[a] MS. Cotton. Calig. D. VIII. fol. 88.

[b] Ibid. fol. 93.

the Instructions which your Grace late sent me. First the effecte of your said Lettre. And after I shewed hym how great desire your Grace hath for the increase of his honnor, and what pleasure and consolation your Highnes taketh in the same, consideryng the unfeyned amytie and aliance that is established betwixt you, both which your Grace belevith to bee soo rooted in your hartys that what high honnor or advauncement shall fortune to come to hym, the fructe thereof shuld redonde to your Highnesse, wherfore to advaunce hym to the preferment of this Imperiall dignitie, your Grace, uppon knowledge of his further intent and mynd shalbe glad to employe your self as well by worde and writing as by acts and dedes to the best of your power, wheruppon he may assuredly trust. Whereunto, he, taking of his bonett thanked hartely your Highnesse, and sayd that the great love and favour which he well perceyveth that your Grace beryth towardes him is the greatest comfort that he hath upon erth. And for the great honnor that your Grace shewith to hym in advauncyng hym to th'imperiall dignitie which is his most desire, he sayth he knoweth nat how nor by what meanes he may recompence your Highnesse in doing any thing so moch for your Grace, but he sayeth as long as he lyveth, in any thing that he may doo that shalbe to your pleasure, he shall always bee as redy and as glad to doo yt as he wold be to doo for hymself, and de-

sireth no thyng moore than to have knowledge wherein he might employe hymself to doo your Highnesse some pleasure. Rehersyng to me that by the reason of the perfecte love and aliaunce betwixt you both he rekeneth your Highnesse to bee of great mygth and power, sayeng that what with your owne puissance and with his help, which he sayeth your Grace shall alwayes have redy at your commaundement, there is nother honnor, dignytie, nor other thing in Crystendome but that your Highnesse shall y . . . and ordre yt at your own pleasure, and tolde me that he cowlde not expresse to me with his tonge the due thanks that he t . . . .[a] to your Grace in his hart for the loving kindnesse that he fyndeth in your Highnesse: and sayd that, whan ye both mete, which he trusteth shalbe shortly, your Grace shall knowe his hart, no man lyving soner. Whereunto I sayd that your Highnesse thanked hym, specially considerynge that amongs all his other things and great affaires, he is so moch desirous to mete, visite, and see your Grace; and toolde hym of your conformable mynd therunto, shewing to hym the tyme, place, fourme, and maner as is at lenght expressed in th'instructions that I have. Wherunto he sayed that he is determyned to see your Grace though he shuld come but hymself, his page, and his lakaye: and that noo buysenesse shall lette yt: how be it, for the tyme, place, and order of

[a] *f.* thinketh.

the Meeting he said he wold common with the Great Master, and within ij. or iij. dayes he wold send hym to Parys, wher he shuld make me aunswer of every article concernyng the said Entreview and Meting. And bicause that the Quene here hath been very sycke thies ij. dayes, and in great daunger, as I have more at large wryten of the same to my lord Legat and Cardinall of England, which I am sure woll shewe your Grace thereof, I can as yet have no aunswer what order shalbe taken for the Marchaunts matiers. Beseeching the holy Trynyte long to preserve your Highnesse. From Parys this xiiijth day of March.

(The signature burnt off.)

LETTER LIV.

Sir Thomas Boleyn to Cardinal Wolsey, reporting an Audience from the Duchess of Angoulesme, March 25th 1519.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. D. VII. fol. 105.]

[PLEASYTH it youre] Grace to understand that the xxjth day of this moneth I wrote my last Lettres to your Grace, and as yesterday, which was our Lady's day, I was at Seynt Germayns, where the Quene and my Lady lyeth; but the King roode on our Ladye's even viij. leges hens, and as my Lady tellyth me it is in a dowte whether he comyth ageyn before the

Quene here be brought in bedde or nay; for she lookyth her tyme every howre. Also my Lady hath commaunded me, now while the great Master is away, that I shuld resorte to her for any thing that I shuld have to doo for the King my Master. And she hath promysed me that she woll make me pryve of such newes as she shall here of from any place: and toold me that the King her sonne whan he departed willed her to shew me a Lettre that came now streyt out of Spayn from his Ambassadour there, and therewithall she called to her the tresourer Robertet and bad hym shewe me that Lettre, wherein was wrytten by the said Ambassador whose name is de la Roche Beauconot, that the King's Highnesse had late sent a Lettre to the King Catholique advertysyng hym how the King here had desired the King's Highnesse by his lettres to wryte to th'Ellectowrs of th'Empire in his favour, the rather to atteyn the dygnyte of th'Empire; the which the King's Highness hath refused bicause of the Amytie betwixt the Kings Grace and the King Catholique, and how the Kings Highnesse had rather that the King Catholique wer Emperowr than the King here; which Lettre he wryteth is in th'andes of the Bishop of Bourges[a] oon of the great Counsell of Spayn. Whan I had redde this clawse in the Lettre sent out of Spayn, I prayed my Lady that she wold gyve noo credence to yt, and shewed

[a] Burgos.

her how I thought that the said Ambassador wrote this by Informacion of some maliciouse personne that wold sett discord bitwixt Princes; and that I assured her it was not trew. She toold me that she had soo perfecte trust in the Kyng my Master's honnor that she beleved, nor wold beleve, noo such thing; and no more she sayeth woll the King her sonne: sayeng that whan the King here redde the same clause in the Lettre wrytten to hym by his Ambassadour in Spayn he did but lawgh at it, and gave no credence thereto. And she saied it cowlde nat be trew, for the . . . . . the Kyng's Highnesse desyring him to wryte to th . . . . . th'Empire for hym. So that as farre as I can perceyve neyther my Lady nor the King her sonne gyve noo credence to yt. And as moch as I cowld instaunce her I have desired her not to beleve this nor noo such thing that shuld be contrary to any thing that the Kings Highnesse hath promysed or wrytten to the King her sonne. My Lady also desireth that likewise as I woll make me pryve of every thing that shall touch or arr . . . to the Kings Grace to th'intent I shuld advertise the Kings Highnesse and your Grace. She likewise desireth to bee advertised of any thing apperteynyng to the King her sonne. She talked with me also of the Meeting of the Kings Highnesse and the King her sonne (which she moch desireth) wherein I shewed her according to myn In-

structions that if it pleased her to m . . . the King her sonne that he wold be content after they had mett a horsbak to repaire streyt to Calais where they myght be honourably receyved, well and easely lodged, it shuld be convenient for their estates. Whereto she aunswered that when they had oones mett, she putt noo dowtes but they shuld . . . well enough, sayeng that after they had ones seen togyther his Highnesse shuld desire hym to nothing but he wold gyve thereto assent. She sayeng allwaies that it shalbe more . . . . and triumphant to be lodged in sommer in the fields in tents and pavilions than it shuld be in any Towne. She often . . . .[a] me of my Lady Princesse and of hir helth, if she hath been syck lately or not. Also Madame la Duchesse the Kings syster, the Duke of Alaunson's wief, lately hath been and yet is very sycke. When I shall have knowledge of any other Newes I shall . . . to your Grace of them: beseeching the holy Trinite long to preserve your Grace. From Poyssy a leege from Saint Germains this xxvjth day of March.

Yowres m . . . . .

Th . . . . . .

[a] asked.

LETTER LV.

Sir Thomas Boleyn to King Henry the Eighth, announcing the Election of the Emperor Charles the Fifth.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. D. VII. fol. 140. *Orig.*]

PLEASITH yt your Grace to understand that the first day of this moneth I wrote my last Lettres to your Grace, and as yet the King is nat retorned from Melun, there as he hath been almost thes fortenyght a huntyng. [But hither is come Lettres with great dylygence to the King Catholiques Ambassadour from Frankford, and from my lady of Savoye, specefieng how the King his master the xxviij. day of the last moneth, at x. of the clocke afore noon, by th'assent and hoole voyce of all the Electours was chosen Emperor. And bicause there is yet noo lettres commen out of Almayn to the King nor my Lady here of this matier my Lady marvayleth moch, and sayth she feryth that Monsr. L'admiral is letted or evyll intreatyd bicause she hath no word from hym, or elles their Post with lettres is taken or stopped by the way. Neverthelesse my Lady sayth yf this be trew seyng the King her sonne may nat be Emperor she is ryght glad that the King Catholique is chosen. Sayeng that though the Kyng her sonne is nat Emperor, yet it is a comfort to her that the King her sonnes son in

lawe is Emperor. How be it the trouth is that both the King and my Lady, and all this Contre had rather any other had been chosen Emperor than the King Catholique. My Lady tellyth me that she is assured it hath cost hym a greyt good to atteyn to this Empire; in so moch she sayth she knoweth for a trouth oon of the Electours hath had of hym two hundreth thowsand crownes, and namyng hym of Coloigne. She sayth also that the Electours amongs them all hath not had of the King her sonne past a hundreth thowsand Crownes, and moch she ma . . . and fereth lest the Admirall be nat well, and sayth that the Letter that she had from hym was wrytten the xxvj. day of the last moneth, wherein by his wryting he had as great trust that the King here shuld be Emperor as ever he had. And now Monsr. le Bastard and they of the Counsell here say yt is a good torne for the King here, and a great weale for his reaulme that he is not Emperor, for they say yf he had been it shuld have putt hym to an infante busyness, and impoverychyd and undoone his subgietts. Here is also of late a new Ordenaunce made by the King and his Counsell, and gyven to all them that have any horses for Posts or Currors[a], both here at the Cort and at Parys, that payn of their lyves they delyver no horse nor horses to any man, ambassador or other, except at the Court he have a bill from Ro-

[a] Couriers.

bertet in Parys from the first President there. I have been, too, assuryd by my Lady that this is nat doon for any Lett of L . . . . . that goyth in to England, but as farre as I can knowe that resortyth in and owt of Spayn, and my lady hath . . . whan so ever I w[illegible] depeche any lettres by Post. I shall stre . . . a Bill of Robertett and of the first President of Parys . . . whan I woll.

Besechyng the holy Trinite long to preserve your Grace from Poyssy this iiij[th] day of July.

Yours

T . . . . . .

LETTER LVI.

Richard Pace to Cardinal Wolsey, on the Election of Charles the Fifth.

[MS. COTTON. GALBA B. V. fol. 285. *Orig.*]

*** In the preceding Letters, something has been said of the bribery used at the election for Emperor. In the Letter here presented to the reader, we find that, to money and intrigue, intimidation was added.

Pace, in one of his earlier Letters, dated from Mayence, June the twelfth, speaking of the four electors whom Maximilian had engaged in his grandson's interest, says, they were to have "of the said King of Castile fifty thousand ducats of gold, truly paid unto each of them, within the city of Frankfort, electo Rege catholico in Imperatorem." "The Counte de Nassowe" he adds "hath brought this matter so farre forth that he sayd four electors have accepted the said Kyng of Castiles obligation made thereupon. Yf this be true" he continues, "it is of grete importance, and the said King of Castile is like undoubtedly to obtain the imperial dignity."

In another Letter dated from Mayence, June 21st 1519, he says, "The French King hath promiside double of all that oder princes christian woll gyve for this Empire. So that here is the most dear merchandize that ever was sould: and after myne opynyon it shalbe the worst that ever was bought, unto hym that shall obteyne it."

PLEAS itt your Grace I have thys daye visite my Lady Margarite, and have hadde off herre verraye large thanks for that I have doon in Almayne for the Kynge Catholike in the late Election. And all the noble men off thys Courte haith yevyn unto me lyke thanks, and interteignydde me here in moste kynde and lovynge maner, wythoute ony question made unto me off eny thynge that I had doon in the sayde late Election for the advauncement of the Kynge our soverayne Lorde, as your Grace thoght they wolde have doon, as itt apperidde bi your laste Lettres directidde unto me. And in verraye deade they have no cause to complayne uppon me, for I dydde nevyr speke agaynst the Kynge catholike in the sayde Election, considerynge that itt was sufficient to me to have the Electors speke agaynst hym, and allege reasons whye he schulde nott be electidde; ande suerly they wolde nott have electidde hym yff fere off there persons hadde not dryven them thereunto, and evident ruine off all there nation yff they hadde electidde ony othre Kynge. And I forseynge suche thyngis (as itt apperith bi diverse my Lettres sent to your Grace in that cause, I ordrede my self there aftre wyth the orators off the sayde Kynge Catholyke,

in suche maner that he, yff he obteignedde, schuld bi reason yff[a] sum thanks to the Kyngis Grace therfore. Master Hesdyng haith wretyn to my Lady verraye acceptable Lettres concernyng the Triumphe made there for the exaltation off the Kynge Catholyke, and also off the Kyngis Grace's and your lovyng myndis towardis thys House, to the grete rejoyse off all thys Courte. He haith also wretyn to me a kynde Lettre offrynge unto me hys house and all that is therin at my pleasure, and whyche commoditie I intende not to use, but to take my voyage towardes Calice tomorrowe. My Lady, with diverse lordis here, wolde have me tary here bi the space off ij. dayes in continuall fests and drynkyng, but itt is not for my purpose to be syke ex crapula. Itt is not yet knowen whatt the army beynge at this tyme in Gelderlande intendith; no hedde doeth appere emongist them as yitt. Thus Jesu preserve your Grace in long helth and continuall prosperitie. Writtyn at Mechlyne thys xxvij. off July.

By your Graces most humble
and feythfull servant

R. PACE.

To my Lord Cardinalls Grace
and Legat in England.

[a] give.

LETTER LVII.

Sir Thomas Boleyn to Cardinal Wolsey upon the Christening of the Duke of Orleans, afterwards King Henry the Second of France. June 7th 1519.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. D. VII. fol. 121. *Orig.*]

*** In a Letter of Sir Thomas Boleyn, dated Poissy, April 9th 1519, he says, he inquired of Francis the First when the Christening of his son should be, who answered "after Easter," because the child had a disease in his eyes: "and he sayeth, all his children have, shortly after they be borne; sayeng also yt was my lady his Mother's mynd, that the chyld shuld bee clene hole of any dysease afore the crystenyng; whos advyse he seyd he should folow therein." [a]

In a succeeding Letter, Sir Thomas Boleyn gives an Account of a solempne procession at Court on April 15th "where went in the same the King, the Lady his Mother, with all the lords and ladys of the Court. The cause of this procession was, for to honnour the holy cordon or coorde that Our Lord was bounde to the Pyller with, and many other relyques, which wer sent to the Quene here from an Abbey in Poytow, and from dyvers other places, now when she was last delyuered of chyld." [b]

PLEASITH yt youre Grace to understand that the first day of this moneth I wrote my last lettres to your Grace; and on Sonday last past about x. of the clocke at nyght, the Kings yong sonne whos title is Henry of Seynt Germayn Duke of Orleans, was crystened, the Duke of Alaunson was the second godfather, and the duchesse of Denamours the god mother. And bicause York, this berar, was there present who can shewe your Grace all the maner and order of the crystenyng I leve to wryte to your Grace of the same; saving that

[a] MS. Cotton. Calig. D. VII. fol. 108. [b] Ibid. fol. 110.

according as your Grace hath here a fore tyme wrytten to me I presented to the Quene here in the name of the Kings Highnesse the Salt, the Cuppe, and Layar of gold, which was very much praysed; and also the Quene and my Lady gave to the Kings Highnesse for the same their loving and harty thanks. And after all was doon the King came to me and sayd he thanked the King's Highnesse of the great honnor that he had doon hym in crystenyng of his chyld, sayeng that when so ever yt shall fortune the Kings Highnesse to have a Prince he shalbe glad to doo for hym in lyke maner, and that he is mynded after his said sonne shall come to age and be able to . . . . he purposyth to send hym to the Kings Grace into Englande to doo hym service.

And the hundreth pounde that your Grace sent to gyve in reward, is bistowed as folowith. First the Noryce, oon hundreth crownes; to iiij. rockers of the yong Dukes chamber, ij. hundreth crownes; to iij. gentlewomen of the Quenes Pryve Chamber called femmes de Ret . . a hundreth and fyfty crownes; and at the Offryng xx nobils, which amounteth in all to the some of oone hundreth pounds sterling and xv. crownes over. All which money was paid and delyvered by the hands of York this berar and Richmount, which can shewe your Grace well inough therof.

Furthermore, as this berar can shewe your Grace, there hath been with me at my lodging the Kings Porters, the T . . . and Officers of Armys which with

importune manner asked reward saying that the Duke of Urbyn at the crystenyng of the Dolphyn rewarded them, and wyth the best answer that I could make them nothyng given they went away miscontent. Nevertheleese it is . . . by honorabull folks here that the gyftes to the Quene, and the money that is gyven in rewardes was sufficiently honorable, and largely inough for the Kings honnor.

I have also laid out xj^{li} xij^{s} in sendyng dyvers tymes myn own folks and other that I have hired to your Grace in to England, and to Calais, with Lettres in post and otherwise, the which xj^{li} xij^{s} and xv. crownes that I have layd out now more than hundreth poundes that your Grace sent me by York to gyve in reward, is owing me. And forasmoch as the last money that your Grace sent me for a hundreth dayes ended the xxviijth day of May last past I besech your Grace both to send me such dyett money as shall best please your Grace, and that the said xj^{li} xij^{s} and xv. crownes that is owing me may be also delivered to my prest which shall attend upon your Grace for yt.

Also I receyved yester evyn from your Grace, a Letter dated the xxviijth day of May, concernyng the Marchaunts matiers and divers other things, whereof after I have spoken with the King, my Lady, or the Counsell here I shall wryte to your Grace such answer as I shall have of them with diligence.

Here is moch speking in the Court and more at

Parys of many straunge bouts, whereof this berar can shewe your Grace by mowth as he hath hard, and as I have shewed hym. Besechyng the Holy Trinite long to preserve your Grace. From Poyssy this vijth day of June

Youre . . . . . .

. . . . . .

To my moste especial and singular
Lord; my Lord Legat Cardinall,
Chauncellar of England.

LETTER LVIII.

Sir Thomas Boleyn to Cardinal Wolsey respecting the Interview with Francis the First. A. D. 1520.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. D. VII. fol. 104. *Orig.*]

*** This Letter, and the three which immediately follow it, relate to the preparations for the Interview between Henry the Eighth and Francis the First, which at last took place, within the English pale, between Guisnes and Ardres, on June 7th 1520. The manner of meeting, and the regulation of the ceremonial were confided by both Monarchs to Wolsey; to whom three of these Letters are addressed.

Hall's account of this Interview in his Chronicle, and he was personally present at it, was drawn up by Henry's command. Another Journal of the Occurrences was also drawn up by order of Francis. This last was published by Montfaucon in his Monumens de la Monarchie Françoise; together with a third Narrative by Robert de la Mark Mareschal de Florenges.

Francis was so gratified with the splendor of this Interview, that he ordered the cavalcade of the Monarchs at their first meeting on horseback, to be carved in BASSO RELIEVO on five marble tables, and to be placed in front of the house of the procureur general at Rouen, where they still remain.

Henry directed the Interview, with its attendant circumstances, to be represented in a PICTURE, formerly at Windsor, but which by the munificence of his late Majesty now ornaments the Meeting Room of the Society of Antiquaries.

Barklay the black monk, who wrote "The Ship of Fools," was engaged by Wolsey to supply the mottoes and devices on the occasion.

The manner in which the nobility of the two countries vied with each other in this scene of grandeur, is described in warm colours. It appears to have been by far the most costly ceremonial known to our History. The English were said to have carried their manors, the French their forests, upon their backs: and the very plain on which the monarchs met, from the richness of the tents and pavilions, was thenceforward called LE CHAMP DE DRAP D'OR.

Hall's description of the person of Francis the First, as he left the tent in which the monarchs had embraced, is worth transcribing. He was "a goodly Prince, stately of countenance, merry of chere, brown coloured, great eyes, high nosed, big-lipped, fair brested and shoulders, small legges, and long feet." [a]

PLEASITH it your Grace to understond that the xix[th] day of this Moneth I wrote my last Lettres to your Grace. And as yestereven the Great Master supped here with me at my Lodging; and this day he is ryden out of this Towne onward on his journay to Mount pelyer ward; and this day or he tooke his hors, he sent for me to dyne with hym, and after dynner at my taking leve of hym, he first willed me, till he commyth ageyn, for all matiers that I shuld have to doo for the Kings Highnesse that I shuld resort all way to the King hym self, or els to my Lady, or to Robertet, and to non other. He also prayed me that I wold humbly and hartely recommend hym to your Grace, and willed me to wryte to you that as touching th'Entrevieu and Met-

[a] Hall, edit. 1809. p. 610.

ing betwixt the King's Highnesse and the King here, though the King here commeth nat to Calais at the first, accordyng to the Kings Grace desire, wherin I have often spoken to hym according to myn Instruccions, he besechith your Grace that ye woll soo shew it to the King's Highnesse that it may be takyn in good part, and that it is for no mystrust nor diffidence that the King here hath to come to Calais, but he thinketh it is convenyent that they both (tyll the tyme of their meting) kepe somwhat to theymselfs, beyond and further than that is agreed by there Counsells, to shewe more love, trust, and kindnesse ech to other, sayeng to me that he thinketh veryly after that both the Kings have mett and spoken to gyther, that the King here, within a day or two woll come secretly to Calais to doo the King's Grace more pleasure, or forther into England if the Kings Highnesse will desyre hym. He willed me also to wryt to your Grace of the great love, favour, and confidence that the King his master hath in your Grace, and the great desire that he hath to doo you pleasure; and toold me it had not bee seen nor hard of oon man, being a Cardinall, to bee in soo great estime, trust, and reputacion of both the Kings of Englond and of France, as your Grace is. Wherfor he thinketh it is in your Grace to employe them both, after your wisdome, in any thing at your owne pleasure. He shewed me also for his part, that, if ther wer any thing that he may doo your Grace pleasure or ser-

vice in, he will as gladly doo it, and with as good will and diligence as for any brother he hath: and that ye shuld well perceyve and know by th'experience whan so ever it shuld please your Grace to prove hym. He toold me furthermore that in any thing that shalbe owther treated or concluded ther as he goyth now, your Grace shalbe advertised of it, sayeng also that if their matiers framyd well betwixt Monsr. de Chieuvres and hym, he thought he shuld goo and see the King Catholique at Parpinyan. He hath with hym a great Trayn, so that he maketh his rekenyng to bee above a thowsand horsys: and hath with hym a garde of xxx^ti. archers in goldsyths work uppon their cootes both before and behind.

I send your Grace herein inclosed a Papir in French of his devis . . . .[a] the Meting and Entrevieu which Robertet hath delivered me by the . . . .[b] Master's commaundement; and an other papir signed with Monsr. de F . . . . . hand conteynyng the Articles of th'order for the redresse of the ma . . according to the forme of them your Grace wrote to me in Inglyshe: Whereto all the Counsell here is fully agreed as your Grace shall presently perceyve by the same Paper in French. Also where your Grace hath deputed the Master of the Rolles and the Vice Admirall to examyn the Inglysh marchaunts robbed and spoyled in September and October . . they have deputed alonly

[a] devise for. [b] Great.

Monsr. de Frayn here for thexaminacion of French men robbed within the said ij. monethes.

Also the Great Master hath advised me that incontinent, after his departure, I shuld make myn abode at a Vyllage called Poyssy, half a league from the Court. And so I purpose to goo thider to-morrow; beseeching the holy Trinitie long to preserve your Grace. From Parys this xxi^th. day of March.

Youres most bounden

THOMAS . . . . . .

LETTER LIX.

Sir Richard Wingfield to Cardinal Wolsey. April 18th. 1520.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. D. VII. fol. 210. *Orig.*]

. . . . . .[a] ix. daye of this present Monnthe I wrote you my laste Lettres, syns whyche tyme I have had divers communications with the Kynge here, of the whiche I do advertise at this tyme the Kyng's Highnes. And thys shal be onlye to give your Grace knowledge that, thoughe there hath been here syth your last Lettres sent to the Frensh King and Admirall moche dispayre of the Meting and Enterveue, specially in the opinions of the great personnaiges of thys Courte, and

[a] *f.* Please it your Grace the.

also of divers of the Ambassadours resident in the same, yet I assure your Grace by the armynge her off Clarencieulx with the Kyngs wrytyngs for the publication of the chalenge, which was done yesterdaye, all thys hole Courte is revyvyd with plenyer joye and comforte of the certentie of the sayde Enterveue declared in the said chalenge, the manner of the whyche publication I do also wryte to the Kyngs Highnes. And, Sir, the manner of the delivery made by your Grace to Marrenesse of the Kyng's Lettres certificatory, in the presence of the Ambassade of Flaundres, hath not only recompensyd the long witholding of them after the recept of Theyers, but hathe gretelye been to the furthir contentacion of the Kyng here, my Ladye, and the Admirall; so, Sir, that at this present I assure your Grace here is as joyewse a Courte as can be devisyd; all whiche thys daye doythe dyslodge towards Parys, where theye intende to be byfore the ende of thys monnythe. Sir, the King here wolde gladlye knowe wydder the Kyng his brother cowde be contente to forbere the makynge of ryche tents and pavilions, whych thynge he cowde be wele contentyd to forbere on hys parte; and lokythe dayly to receive for hym as well his measur for the makynge of the Curasse, as also to receive the vauntbrasse and gauntlett[a]. I truste your Grace wyll cause provision to be made for my dyett, for there be but twoo dayes to com

[a] See Lord Herbert's Hist. of Hen. VIIIth. fol. Lond. 1649. p. 95.

of the terme for the whyche I received the laste dyette. I have often tymes put your Grace in remembraunce heroff according to your commaundment gevyn me in that behallff, besechyng your Grace to consider the same accordynglye, and I shall daylye praye for the longe contenuaunce of your prosperous dignitie. At Bloyse the xviijth daye of Apryll.

Your humble . . . . .

. . . . . .

LETTER LX.

Sir Richard Wingfield to King Henry the Eighth, May 7th 1520.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. D. VII. fol. 215. *Orig.*]

PLEASITHE it your Highnes thys shalbe to advertise the same that thys daye my fellowe Parker is departyd fro thys citie towards Calles[a], with vij^{ne} coursers as goodlye and puissant as is possible to se, whyche were shewyd yesterdaye by my sayde fellowe unto the Grete Escuier. And to the intent I myght knowe hys opinion and howe the sayde coursers myght lyke hym, I went to hys lodgyng in the evenynge; who I assure your Grace havyng aswell harde of the brute of them, as also beyng infourmyd by di-

[a] Calais.

vers gentilmen whyche knowe thre or fowre of them, sayde that ye had clerlye recoverde the moste estemyd pieces that where[a] in Italye, and singulerly praysyd the courser whyche the Seigneour Fabricie sent to your Grace. And as for the residue of them, he sayde to be in them as moche good apparance of good prove[b] to followe as cowde be devysyd, and moche praised the conducte of them fro so farre, and to be in suche luste and couraige: and for conclusion affter that by the space of one longe howre he had sayde as moche of theym as cowde be spokyn in their praise, he sayd to be wele assuryd that theyre fellowes, all their bownties considered, where[a] not to be fownd on the farsyde the Mountaignes. I assure your Highnes I was not a letyll glad to here hys good opinion and jugement of them, and semblablye the same of dyvers othir gentylmen then beyng present whyche knew the most partye of the sayde coursers; wheroff me thowght requesyt to advertis your Grace, as of matter whyche I am sure shalbe nothyng tedious to your Highnes to here. And thys mornyng, at theyr settynge forth, I went to see them, but for that the forsayde Grete Escuyer hathe leffte nothynge for me to be spokyn in theyr prayse, I do leefe the same; savyng that I am wele assuryd suche others as your Grace hathe of the sayde partyes shall whyn nothyng of them, other in puissance or beaultie. And

[a] were. [b] proof.

one other wele there is, that, within two dayes affter theye shalbe arryved to Calles, they shalbe redye to serve your Highnes without lenger sejourne; for I never sawe or harde horses to be so farre ledde in such plyte and couraige as they be in: wherein, Sir, after my pore opinion, the Conductor besyds all his other discrete demeanor in thys hys voyage, hathe deservyd your Highnesses favorable thancks, who shewyd me at hys departynge that he intendyd to be at your toun of Calles by the xx^ti^ daye of this present monnyth.

Also your Highnes maye understonde that apon Satterdaye laste the Quene and the Ladyes arryved to this Citie, and thys daye the Kynge your brother is arryved, and to morrowe or Wennesdaye at the furthyest theye shall depart towards Abbevyle, where I thyncke your sayde good broder intendeth to put order for the noumbr of suche personnaiges as shall attende apon hym at the Veue. And, Sir, at the furthyst, the Kynge your good brother intends to be at Muttrell or Boleigne by the xx^ti^ daye of this moneth. And thus I beseche the Hollygoste to have your Highnes in hys moste blessyd tuycion. At Parrys the vij^th^ daye of Maij.

(The signature burnt off.)

LETTER LXI.

Sir Richard Wingfield to Cardinal Wolsey. May 25th 1520.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. D. VII. fol. 224. *Orig.*]

PLEASYTH it your Grace, yesterdaye I wrote unto the same my laste Lettres, and thys shalbe to advertise you that thys day the Kynge here, affter he had dynyd, cawsyd all the grete personnaiges of hys Realme, beynge in thys toun, to be assemblyd, with the others of hys Councell, in hys bedde chambr, where I was present. Into the whyche, affter he was arryvyd and had devysyd aparte with the Admirall a letyll season, he turnyd hym to the sayde Princes and Councell, shewynge them to be aswell advertesyd by me, as fro hys Ambassador beynge in England, of the Kynge hys good broothers departynge fro hys manor of Grenewyche, and apon his voiage towards Dover. And he thowght the sayde Kynge hys good brother myght take passaige som daye thys next Weke, God wyllynge, so that he trusted shortlye affter hys discente that they myght mete to ghydders accordynge to suche treatie and promesse as was passyd bytwene them for that purposse. And for that he was determynyd at the sayde metyng and durynge the tyme of theyr beynge to ghydder to do and make unto hys sayde good brother such honnorable recueil and bro-

therlye enterteinement as hys sayde good brother shulde wele perceive, the same to procede of entier love and affection whych he bare unto hym as unto the Prince of the Worlde whom he estymyd, lovyd, and trustyd moste. Not doubtynge but that the Kynge hys sayde good brother wolde make unto hym semblable demonstration. Off whyche hys determination and pleasure he thowght necessary aswell to advertis them, as also to commaunde them, as they intendyd to do hym pleasure and to avoyde the contrary, that they shulde every of them endevour them selffs to do all suche honour, service, and pleasure to hys sayde good brother as theye wolde do unto hym. And that theye shulde make unto all the noblesse attendyng apon hys sayde good brother as honnorable, frendlye, lovynge, and plesaunt recueil and enterteinment as they cowde thyncke or imagyne. And furthermore that theye shulde choose to be of theyr bands and companyes personnaiges of suche qualities as theye wolde answer for at their perills, to the intent that by no symple or evyll advysyd person attendyng apon eny of them ther myghte arryse noyse, debate, or stryff. And further commandyd them that they shulde nother brynge or suffer ony other personnaiges to come with them to the Metynge above suche noumbr as shall be statyd to them: whych theyr noumbr he as woll . . . them as commaundyd that they sh . . . . . and discrete belongynge unto them.

And gaff lyke command to the grete Maister for the appoincting of suche officers for the howse as he knewe to be moste honneste: and in the ende commaunded the Chauncellor that he shulde drawe one drafte of one proclamation to be made here tomorrowe Whereof I shall not fayle to sende your Grace a dowble of all that shalbe thought by hym and the others of hys councell necessary for the kepyng of good and pollytyke order apon hys parte at the metyng to ghydder of hym and hys good brother. Off all which order and direction by hym takyn he wyllyd me to advertise the Kynges Highnes and your Grace, whyche thynge I shewyd hym that I shulde do accordynglye; and also that I was wele assuryd that aswell the Kyngs Highnes as your Grace shulde be moche joyewse and glad to knowe of the forsaide good order takyn by hym; and that I doubted not but that the lyke and semblable was or shuldbe shortly takyn apon the Kyng's Highnesses partie.

Your Grace shall also knowe that at thys Councell wheroff all the noble personnaiges of thys Realme whyche be appointed to attende apon the Kyng here, reservyd the duke of Lorrayne and Monsr. de Saint Poll, whyche be not yet arryved, and to advertise your Grace by all that I can perceive or haere of them they . . . . . and theye generally be asmoche affectionatt to this Veue as could be wysshyd or desiryd,

whyche I am wele assuryd shall w . . . . apon their parties at the sayde Metinge.

Yesterday arryved to this toun les filles de Navarre. Newes I have none worthye your Grace's knowledge. Besechinge the Holy goste to have your Grace in hys moste blessyd kepyng. At Muttrell the xxv^{ti} daye of Maij.

(The signature burnt off.)

LETTER LXII.

The Lords of the Council to King Henry the Eighth after the Interview.

[MS. COTTON. VESP. F. XIII. fol. 129. *Orig.*]

SIR

PLEASE it your Grace, over and besides the joyous personnall Commyng to your Highnesse of th'Emperor within this your Reame, and of the comfortable mutuell communicacion and entreteignement that was betwene you, whoys commyng into your said Reame is greatly estemed and noted to th'inestimable honor of your Highnes and your said Reame, we have had knowledge to our most singular comforte and rejoysing, not oonly of your gode, prosperous, and fortunate late passage and arrivall at your towne of

Calays, but also of the most honorable personnal late meting of your Grace and the Frenshe King, with the goodliest and moost commendable ordre devised and observed therin at that tyme, the like whereof heretofore hath nat been seen. For the which, and for that every thing hitherto in this your royall Journey so fortunately and prosperously succedeth oon thing after another, we and all other your subgietts have greate cause to geve laudes and praise to almighty God, and so we full humbly do; firmely trusting all your causes and matiers shall take such effectuell and fortunate conclusion as shalbe to the perpetuell and immortall memorie of your said Grace, and to the universall weale, rest, and tranquillitie of all Christendome. Ascertaignyng your Highnes we were on Saturday last passed at your manoir of Richemounte with your dearest daughter the Princesse, who, lauded bee Almighty God, is right mery and in prosperous helth and state, dailly exercising her self in vertuous pastymes and occupacions, whereof we sawe sum experience afore we departed from her. Fynally as for thastate of your Reame, loved be God, it is in good peax, rest, and tranquillitie, and your subgietts conserved in good ordre and peasible rule: and we ensuyng your commandement according to our duties, dailly assemble and contynue in your Counsaill, and have had afore us sum causes and matiers to bee punysshed and refourmed after yor Lawes as well from farr places as

from other nigh in these parties, to th'ordering wherof we trust we do endevor us as shalbe to the contentacion of yor said Highnesse. At your Paloys of Westm. the xiij^th day of June.

Your most humble subjects

T. NORFOLKE.

RI. WYNTON. W. LINCOLN. J. ABBOT OF WESTM. JOHN BERNERS.

JO. FYNEUX. THOMAS LOUELL. ROBT. BRUDENELL. JOHN CUTTE.

C. WYNDHAM. T. MAGNUS. JOHN FITZ JAMES.

LETTER LXIII.

Extract of a Letter from Sir William Fitzwilliam to Cardinal Wolsey. A. D. 1521.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. D. VIII. fol. 21. *Orig.*]

*** The expensive Interview, of which enough has been already said, is usually represented as occasioning the first open breach between Wolsey and the Duke of Buckingham: but the following extract from a Letter of Sir William Fitzwilliam to Wolsey, sufficiently explains to us that Buckingham's haughty demeanor had long been offensive even to his Sovereign: and that, in some degree, his weakness and his pride had wrought his own ruin. Of royal descent, high constable of England by hereditary right, possessed of extensive domains, great in his alliances, and surrounded by numerous retainers, he enjoyed a popularity, the feared consequences of which, as will be seen in an extract from the Cardinal's Letter in return, induced Francis the First to offer Henry his assistance in case the punishment of Buckingham should cause rebellion.

Roy, at the back of the title-page of his "Rede me and be nott wrothe," alludes in strong terms to Wolsey as the Duke's destroyer:

"Of the prowde Cardinall this is the shelde,
Borne up betwene two angels of Sathan,
The sixe bloudy axes in a bare felde
Sheweth the cruelty of the red Man

Which hath devoured *the beautiful* SWAN[a];
Mortal enmy unto the whyte Lion;
Carter of Yorcke, the vyle butchers sonne."

One word more respecting the fall of Buckingham. His conviction was principally owing to the disclosures of his confessor: and the practice of obtaining such disclosures from the confessors of the nobility, is particularly charged on Wolsey. Roy says,

"In all the londe there is no wyght,
Nether Lorde, Baron, nor knyght
To whom he hath any hatred,
But ether by sower speche or swete
Of their Confessours he will wete
Howe they have theym selves behaved.
What they saye, it is accepted,
In no point to be objected,
Though they be as false as Judas."[b]

A very rare tract of that time, by William Tyndale, intitled "The Practice of Prelates," intimates that Wolsey learned this of Fox and Morton, and that it was the engine by which Henry the Seventh maintained himself upon his Throne. "In kynge Henryes dayes the vij. the Cardinall Morton and bishop Fox of Winchestre delyvered unto the Kynges Grace the Confessions of as many Lordes as his Grace lusted. Wo so ever was mistrusted, if he shrove him self at the Charter houses, Syon, Grenewych, at Saint Jhons, or where soever it was, the Confessoure was commanded by the auctorite of the Pope to delyver his confession wryten, and sworne that it was all."

PLEASE it your Grace the Frenshe King tolde me how my Lord of Bukkyngham was in the Towre, and asked me and I herde of it: and I sayed naye. And he asked me also what maner a man he was, and I aunswered as I thought, and sayed he was a high mynded man, and a man that wold speke like a man that were in a rage. And he sayed he judged hym for . . . . man, and so full of coller that ther was nothing could content him. Then I shewed hym the Kings Grace had geven hym good lessons, and so good

[a] The Duke of Buckingham took the Swan for his badge as heir of blood to Humphrey de Bohun.

[b] rev. of Sign. h. iij.

that and he had had any grace, he wold not have disserved to have been ther; and he sayed it was honorably doon of the Kings Grace to gyve hym warnyng. And then I shewed hym I knewe hys Grace had gyven him warnyng, as well by your Grace, as by his owne . . . . oftener than oons: and he praysed that verrey moche. At Mounte Armyne the xxij of Aprill.

By your servant to the best of my power

WYLLIAM FYTSWILLIAM.

LETTER LXIV.

Extract from the Cardinal's Answer to Sir William Fitzwilliam.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. D. VIII. fol. 38. *Orig.*]

* * * * * * * * *

OVER this wher as upon knowlaige had by the said Frenche King of the attachement of the late Duke of Bukingham, the Lorde Bergevenny, and the Lorde Montague, he supposing that the matiers had been in some daungerous astate, made right loving, faithful, and kinde offers by you Sir William Fitzwilliam unto the Kings Grace for the defence of his person if nede had been; ye shall for his gentle and benivolent offer herin geve unto hym on the Kings behalve most hertye thanks. Neverthelas ye shal shewe unto hym that th'affaires were not, ne be in any suche daungerous state, but that the said late Duke, whom the Kings

Grace of a good season hathe knowen to be perversly and evil mynded was nowe lately detected of diverse treasons by hym self thought and imagyned, aswel against the Kings person as against his succession, and specyally against the Princes with whose aliance in the House of Fraunce he was greatly miscontented and greved. And these things being openly and manifestly proved, and at last by hym self confessed, he was by the due order of the Kings lawes condempned and put to execucyon of dethe, accordinge to his demerits. And as touching the said Lords of Bergevenny and Mountague, ther is non untrouthe ner infidelitie in theym, but be as good, sincere, and loving subgietts and servaunts to the King as may be. And they were for non other cause committed to the Towre, but for a smale conceylement proceding of necligence, and being of no regarde, weight, or importance.

At my Place beside Westm. the xxth day of May.

Your lovyng ffrende

T. CARDINALIS EBOR.

LETTER LXV.

John Longland bishop of Lincoln to Cardinal Wolsey, signifying the King's approbation of Wolsey's intention to found a College at Oxford.

[MS. COTTON. VITELL. B. V. fol. 8. *Orig.*]

*** It were impossible to supply an apter preface to this and the succeeding Letter, than is contained in the latter part of Shakspeare's character of Wolsey:

"He was most princely. Ever witness for him
Those twins of Learning that he rais'd in you
IPSWICH and OXFORD!"[a]

The date of the first of these Letters which relates to CHRIST CHURCH, is fixed by a passage in Wood's Annals to the year 1523. Noticing the Visit to Oxford which Henry and Catherine made that year, he says, "Not long after, Bishop Longland came and made preparation for the Cardinal's buildings, and caused the Canons of St. Frideswide's to leave their habitations, to the end that the Cardinal's scholars and lecturers might take possession and be gathered together in a body, who before had settled themselves in various Halls and Colleges."[b]

Longland was not only bishop of Lincoln, but Confessor to King Henry the Eighth. He is alluded to in the satirical productions of the day, as one of the persons most especially devoted to Wolsey's interests.

The second of these Letters, though without date, cannot be placed earlier than 1529; the patent for the foundation of the COLLEGE AT IPSWICH being dated in that year.

The intimate connection of their subjects, seemed to warrant the juxtaposition of these Letters.

MY bounden dutie moste humbly remembred unto your Grace, with thanks for your noble gudnes ever to me your bedesman and servaunte shew . . . all at my nowe beinge with your Grace to your greate chardge and . . . to my moste singlr comforte. And for your precioux giffte ye gave me I moste humble thanke you, whiche duringe my liff I shall keep for a treasour in reamembrans of your noblenes. Hit may please Your Grace to undrestand I have delivered your token to the Kings Highnes withyour humble commendacions unto hym, with your lyke thankes for his highe and favorable gudnes shewid in furtherans and setting forth of your moste godly purpoose concernynge your Colledge, whiche ye tooke to be of the moste highiste rea-

[a] Hen. VIII. Act iv. sc. 2.
[b] Wood's Annals of the Univ. of Oxford, vol. ii. p. 24.

compens that he kowd doo unto you, for the service your Grace hathe doon unto hym. Shewinge hym howe plesant hit was unto you to hier that his Highnes dydd soo reajoyce at the said fundacion and Colledge for whiche ye have maad hym and the Queen participants of suche suffrages as shuld ther be doon, deliveringe unto hym in a booke of the same wher in he mervelously rejoicithe with many words and thanks to you for the same. And over this I shewed him of the greate gud that should ensue of this your noble foundation, aswell in bringinge upp of youthe in vertue as exc . . ninge to the maigtenans of Christs Chirche and his faith, to the King's honor and of all his realme; and that many shuld there be brouht upp, whiche shuld be able to doo his Grace honorable service. I assure your Grace the Kinge dothe considre all this moore in the beste manor, and soo dothe reaporte hitt unto your Grace's honor bettor than I kan with pen expresse. Sainge that more gud shall come of this your honorable fundacion than any man can exteme, with many moo gud words, muche rejoicinge in the same as I doubte nott but he will expresse att lengthe unto your grace att your commyng, whiche I shewed hym shuld be a munday nexte. I assertaignyd him over this your pleasour concernynge the secrete serch ye wuld this terme make in diverse places namynge the same unto hym, and that att oon tyme. And that ye wuld be att the Crose[a] havinge the clergy with you, and ther

[a] St. Paul's Cross.

to have a notable clerk to prech afor you à sermond contra Lutherum, Lutherianos, fautoresque eorum, contra operà eorum et libros, et contra inducentes eadem opera in regnum: and then to have a proclamacion to geve notise that every person havinge any warks of Luther or of his fautors makinge, by a limitte day, to bring them in sub pena excommunicationis majoris, and that day lymyte, to fulminate the sentens a yenst the contrary doers; and that if aftor that day any suche warks be known or found with any person, the same to be convicte by abjuracion: and iff thei will contumaciter persiste in ther contumacy, then to pursue them by the lawe ad ignem, as a yenste an heretick. And that ye purposse over this to bind the said merchands and stachioners in reacognisans never to bringe in to this Realme any such boks, scrowlis, or writings: whiche your godly purposse his Highnes mervelusly well allowithe, and doth muche hold with that reacognisans, for that some and most parte will more feare that than excommunicacion. And his Grace thinks my Lord of Rochestor to be moste meete to make that sermond afore you, bothe propter auctoritatem, gravitatem, et doctrinam personæ. His Highness is as gud and gracious in this quarrell of God as can be thouzht, wishid, or desired, and for the furtherans of this godly purpose as fervent in this cause of Christe his chirche, and maigtenauns of the same as ever noble prince was. I declarid unto him whate highe power and name he hathe obteignyd by his no-

table wark maad agaynste Luther, and in whate estimacion he is in thoroo out Christindom, the . . . . and that now in this suppression of Luther, is adherents and disciples shuld gett muche more lawd, prais, and honor, and immortle name besyds thonor and welthe of his realme and hyghe merytt of his so . . . . he is moste gracioux toward and ready in thes caus of God . . . your Grace shall well perceyve when ye shall speke with hym. Hit may please your Grace of your mercifull gudnes emongs all these greate affers to remembre this matter to his Highnes to animate him in this cause of Christe, of Christe and his chirche, for the depression of the enymys of God. The World is mervelusly bent a yenst . . . and it is the Kings Grace and you that muste remedy the same. God hathe sent your Grace emongs us t'advauns his honor and maintain his chirche and faithe, for whome we all ar moste bounde to pray, and for your moste noble prosperous estate longe to endure. The Kinge and all the Courte reaportyth the noble House your Grace hathe kepte this Christmas, and of the notable chere ye have given to nobles and servaunds, muche to your laude and honor.

This day, after diner was doon, I went with the lords in to the Quenes chambre, where the Kinge came with the Quené towards wher I stood, and said to the Quene thes words, "Madame My Lorde of Lincoln kan shewe of my lord Cardinalls Colledge att Oxford, and what

lernynge ther is and shalbe, and what lernyd men in the same," and so the Kinge departid; and I shewid to the Quene is grace th'effecte of all, and whate greate gud shuld come of the same, aswell to conservation of Christ's Chirche and Faith, as to the Realme; wher all gud lornynge and letters shuld be; wherby reasorte shuld be out of all parts of Christendom to the same for lornynge and vertue; and shewid her of the notable lectors that shuld be ther, and of the exercitations of lornynge, and how the Students shuld be lymytt by the readars to the same; lyke wisse in th'exposicion of the Byble; and expressid to her Grace the numbre of your Hows, the devyn service of your Colledge, and of the greate suffrages of Prayor ye have maad her participant of. And she said, "I thanke my gud lord for his reamembrauns, that it please hym to make me partivor of that gud prayors." And her Grace was mervelous glad and joious to hier of this your notable fundacion and Colledge, spekinge grett honor of the same. Thus I encombre your Grace withe lenght of writinge: besechinge the Holy Goste to preserve you, and to geve you longe prosperous liff and helthe. Written at Eltham, in vigilia Epiphaniæ, by th'and of

Your moste humble bedisman soo bounden

JOHN LINCOLN.

LETTER LXVI.

William Capon, dean of Cardinal College Ipswich, to Card. Wolsey, upon the foundation and ordering of the College.

[MS. COTTON. TITUS B. I. fol. 275. *Orig.*]

PLEASITH it your Grace to be advertysed, the Sonday the vj^te day of September, máister Stephyns[a], Doctor Lee, with Mr Crumwell, repayred to Gipswiche and came to your Graces College there, and brought with theym coopes, vestements, aulter clothes, plate, and other things, the perticullers wherof byn comprised in a payer of Indenturs made bitwene me and the said Mr Crumwell; the oon indenture the said Mr Crumwell hath with hym and thoder part remeyneth with me. Also all the said parcells be ingroced and incerted into your Graces boke indented, emongest other of your graces stuff, which boke remeyneth in my custodye. Also the said Mr Stephyns, Mr Lee, and Mr Crumwell taryed in your graces College the space of iiij dayes, in whiche tyme Mr Crumwell dyd take moche payne and labour not only in surveying yor graces stuff hether caryed sawfely, but also in prepayring and ordering off hangings, benchis, with all other necessaries to the furniture of our hall whiche ys now well trymmed and ordered

[a] Stephen Gardener, afterwards bishop of Winchester, who is frequently called by this familiar name in the Letters of Henry the Eighth's time.

thrugh his good diligence and helpe. And upon our Ladyes evyn I, with all the company of your Grace's college, as the subdeane, Mr Ellis, vj. prests, viij. clerks, and ix. choresters with all our servants, when we had fynished our evynsong in our college chirche, then immedyatly after we repayred to gether to our Ladyes Chapell and there song evynsong as solemply and devoutely as we cowde. And there accompanyed with Mr Stephyns, Doctor Lee, and Mr Crumwell, with Mr Humfrey Wyngfylde, (to whom all we of your Grace's college byn moche boundyn unto for his loving and kynde maner shewed unto us,) the bayliffs of the towne, with the port-men and the Priour of Christs Chirche, all the whiche accompanyed us that same nyght home agayne to your Graces college with as lovyng and kynde maner as I have sene; and at theyr commyng theder they dranke with me bothe wyne and biere, and so that nyght departed. On the next Day whiche was our Ladyes day, the viij. day of September; a day of very fowle wedder and rayned sore contynewally; so that we cowde not go in procession thrugh the towne to our Lady's Chapell accordyng to our statute by your grace made; but we made as solempne a procession in your grace's College Chirche as cowde be devysed. In somoche there were xl. of your coopes worne there, and asmoche people as cowde stande in the Chirche and in the chirche yarde. Also all the honnorable gentilmen of the shyre were there;

as Mr. Wenteford, Sir John Willowghbye, Sir Phelip Tylney, Mr. Bowth, Sir Thomas Tey, with Mr. Benefylde, Mr. Pyrton, Mr. Jermeyn, Mr. Humfrey Wyngfylde, with many other to the nomber of xxiiij. gentilmen of the contrey, besids the bayliffs, porte-men of the towne, the Priour of Christs Chirche, the Priour of Butley, Doctor Grene vicar of Alborowgh, as commyssaries bothe to your Grace and to the Bishop of Norwiche, and the Duke of Norfolk's almoner Mr. Hege, all the whiche were there, with as good wille and diligence as they cowde to do your Grace honnor that day: and they all toke repast at dynner in your Grace's College, and as I trust wele enterteyned with good fare, and suche fassyon as we cowde devise, where with they were right well contented as I supposed. Fardermore as for your syngyng men byn well chosen, very well brested with sufficient cunnyng for theyr rowmes, and som of theym very excellent, whiche will not serve here with theyr good wills for that wagis, alleging for theyr selff how they had moche better wages there from whense they came fro. Moreover they will have brekefasts every day in as ample and large maner as they have had in other places. I feare that theyr commons allowed by your Grace will not suffice theym as yet: for we can make no provysions neyther for beeffs ne for muttons for want of pasture nere unto us. As for Bornebrige ys very bareyne. The subdeane and I, with Mr Rushe, have

vewed every part and percell therof, and they saye it is not mete nor convenyent for fatte ware, neyther for beeffs nor muttons. I have enterteyned theym according to your Graces commandment with good wordis and plenty of mete and drinke, promisyng to som of theym that be excellent more wagis, for they gruge sore at theyr wagis, as Mr. Doctor Stephyns and Mr. Crumwell can shew to your Grace more at lengthe. Fardermore as for yor Graces' College Churche, oon man ys not able bothe to attende and kepe the revestry and do all things in the Churche, as to ryng the bells, kepe the Churche clene, prepayre the aulter's lights, and other necessaries, and to see all the Ornaments wele and sufficiently repayred, and kepte withoute eny enpayring, and to set forth every day all suche things as is to be occupied abowte Godd's service. Therfore by the advyce of Mr Stephyns, Mr Lee, and Mr. Crumwell I have putt in to the churche an other man to helpe the yoman off the Revestry, and named him Sexten, unto the tyme I knowe farder of your Grace's pleasure in that behalf. Also here byn but fyve prestis besids your Subdeane, whiche is to litle a nomber to kepe iij. massys every day according to your Graces statuts, and the subdeane cannot attende upon his charge for surveyeng of the works and bieldyngs of your Grace's College, wherfor we moost humbly desyer and pray your Grace to have moo priests to performe your Grace's

ordynaunce in your sayd College, or els to dyspense w^t us for oon of your masses, eyther the Requiem Masse or ells our Ladyes masse, unto the tyme we be better furnished with priests to accomplishe and performe your Graces ordynaunces and statutes therin. And but for Mr Lentall we cowde in a maner do nothing in oure quere. He taketh very great paynes and is alwaye present at Mattens and all Masses w^t evyn song, and settith the quere in good ordre fro tyme to tyme, and fayleth not at eny time. He is very sober and discrete, and bringeth up your Choresters very wele: assuring your Grace there shall be no better childern in no place of England then we shall have here, and that in short tyme. I have also made xv. albis of the new cloth whiche I had of your Grace, delyvered by thandis of Mr Alvarde your graces servaunt: and yet there is xiiij. albis more to be made to the sutes now lately sent by your Grace to us by Mr Crumwell; besids albis for xiiij. tunycles, and xij. payer of odde parrers for childern. Fardermore there hath byn sent unto your Graces College, agaynste the day of the Nativitie of our Ladye, ix. bukks: that is to wete ij. from the Duke of Norfolke, ij. from the Duke of Suffolke, oon from my Lady of Oxford the yonger, oon from Sir Phelip Bowth, oon from Mr Pyrton, oon from Mr Sentcler your graces servaunt, and oon from Richard Cavendish your grace's servaunt; whiche bukks were spent on our sayd Ladyes day in your Graces College and in the towne of Gipswiche,

whereof oon buk was delyv'ed to the Chamberleyns of the towne for the xxiiij. hedmen of the same towne, and in money x^{s}. to make mery w^{t} all, by the advyce of M^{r}. Stephins, M^{r}. Lee, and M^{r}. Crumwell: and in lyke wise to the bayliffs wyves and the portemennes wives to make mery with a buk and x^{s}. And to the Curatts of the same towne a buk w^{t} vj^{s}. viij^{d}. in money, for theyr paynes and labowrs takyn in our procession. Also M^{r}. Rushe to whom all your Graces College is moche beholdyn unto, ever redy to do pleasurs and also to take paynes for us in all our causes, and at the sayd day he gave to us vj. cowple of conyes, ij. fesaunts, and oon dosseyn of quayles. Also the Priour of Butley he gave to us ii. fesaunts and a fatte Crane.

Also we have receyved of M^{r}. Dawndy clxxj. tonnes of Cane stone, and within a fortenyght next after Mighelmes now next commyng we shall have oon c. tonnes more. So that your workemen shall not be un occupyed for wante of stone. And the sayd M^{r}. Dawndy hath promised to me that bifore Easter next commyng we shall have here redy M^{l}. tonnes more of the sayd Cane stone. And thus the Holy Trinitie preserve your Grace. From your Grace's College in Gipswiche the xxvj. day of September, by yor moost boundyn servaunt and humble Chapleyn.

WILLYAM CAPON.

To my Lord Legate
his good Grace.

LETTER LXVII.

R. Gruffithe to Cardinal Wolsey.

[MS. COTTON. TITUS B. XI. fol. 416. *Orig.*]

*** The vicinity of Pembrokeshire to Ireland makes it reasonable to suppose that a few settlers might come to Wales from the sister Country, almost in all times; or that a few industrious persons might go from Wales to make their settlement in Ireland; Milford in the County of Pembroke, in the middle period of our History, being the port of most general communication between the two Countries.

The following Letter to Cardinal Wolsey, however, from Richard Gruffithe, a person who appears to have been in some degree of power in the Palatinate of Pembroke, points at a time when a sudden colonization of Pembrokeshire took place which gave somewhat of alarm even to the English government. From the mention of the Earl of Desmond in it, as in open rebellion, it may be taken for granted that the date must have been in 1523 or 1524, when by repeated influx, no fewer than twenty thousand persons are stated in the course of a year to have taken up their abode in that part of Pembrokeshire opposite to Ireland, principally from the Earl of Desmond's territory. Our Historians are entirely silent on this curious fact, but, as will be shewn in the sequel, some such colonization in that County, to an extent fully equal to, if not greater than that recorded in the Letter, is recognized as late as the time of James the First.

PLEASITH it youre moost noble Grace, my duetie of mooste humble recommendacions hadde unto your Grace, as apperteynyth, sygnyfyinge unto the same your moost noble Grace, that there is so gret abundance of Irisshemen latelye comyn within these xij. monethes into Pembrokeshire, the Lordship of Haverforde West, and so alongest the See syde to Saynt Davyes, and within the townes of Haverforde West, Pembroke, and Tenbye, with suche that be comyn

theder before and inhabited there, that by estymacion do amounte at the leste to the nombre of twentye thousande persons and above, of all maner sorte, and the mooste part of the same Raskells be out of the domynyons of the Kings Rebellyon therle of Desmonde; and verey fewe of theym out of the Englisshe pale of Irelande. And the Kings Towne of Tenbye is almost cleane Irisshe, as well the hedde men and ruelers as the comyns of the said Towne; and of their highe and presumptuoux myndes doo dissobey all maner the Kings processe that comythe to theym out of the Kings Eschequyer of Pembroke; supposyng that their Charter woll bere theym therin, where of truethe thair Charter is no thyng like so large of liberties as they do clayme it to be. And one of theym, caulled Germyn Gruffith, borne under the domynyon of the said Erle, is nowe owner of two great Shipps well appoynted with ordenaunces; and it is dailye proved by experyence that fewe or none of Englysshemen or Welshemen can or be receyvyd amongs theym to anye service or wages. And the last yere I herde of a grete nowmbre of the same Irisshemen that were cast over lande upon the cost within the said Shere, whereupon I made a preveye watche, and in two little parisshes in one nyght I gadered of theym above two hunderde that were newe comyn, besids as monye that were comyn there before; and all the same new Company I did sende to See agayne. Albeit, sythyn, they be comyn

agen with monye moo: and every on that comythe dothe clayme kynred to one or other of the same shire, townes, and countre foresaid. And ever sythyn that I expulsed the said new comyn Irisshemen out of the countre as before, the rest do grudge agaynst me. And of truethe in all the said circuete there be foure Irysshe agaynste one Englisshe or Welshe: and therfore, after my power mynde, it were expedyent and necessarye that the Kings Highenes with his moost honorable Counsaill shulde ponder the same, and devise some order to be takyn, aswel for th'advoiding of the moost parte of theym, as alsoe that noo man within that parties shall reteigne any that shall come out of Irlande thider, at any tyme herafter into thair service, upon a certayne penaltye; and ells they shall never be woren out, but increas more and more. And furder sygnyfying unto your moost noble Grace that the Mayor and Towne of Tenby have commytted and don mony great ryotts, rowtes, and unlefull assembles agaynst the Kings lawes, his peax, crowne, and dignyte, with diverse extorcions, as shall appere by divers indictaments remaynynge agaynst theym in the Kings Records of Pembroke. And also it shalbe duely proved that they have ayded and vittailed the Kyng's enymyes at sundrye tymes, and that as shalle pleas the Kyngs Highenes and your most noble Grace to commaunde me to do, concernyng any order that shalbe takyn concernyng the premyssis, shalbe accom-

plisshed with all diligence to the uttremost of my litle power; as knoweth God who ever preserve your moost noble Grace in felicitie. From Carmerden the viij^th^ daye of this July, &c.

Your humble Servaunt

R. GRUFFITHE.

To my Lorde Legatis moost
noble Grace.

THE recognition spoken of in the introduction to this Letter, occurs in a manuscript in the Harleian Collection in the British Museum, N°. 6250. intitled "The first Booke of the Description of Pembrokeshire in general," written in "1603;" but without the name of the author. The fourth chapter, fol. 20, has the following title, "That the Countrey is nowe inhabyted by three severall nations: as Welshmen the remnant of the Ancient Brittaines and first Inhabitants of the Countrey; Englishmen brought thether at the Conquest thereof; and by Irishmen which doe dailye ferrye over thither out of Ireland: and of the language spoken by these three severall nacions." In fol. 21 the author says, "As for Irishemen they are so powdred among the Inhabitaunts of Rowse and Castlemartyn, that in everye village you shall find the thirde, fourth, or fifth householder an Irishman: and nowe of late they swarme more then in tymes past, by reason of these late warres in Ireland; and if it so contynue for the tyme to come, in shorte tyme they are like to match the other inhabitants in nomber. These for the most parte speake and use here the Englishe tongue, yett in such sorte as that all men maye discerne these to be that countrey people, as alsoe by the rudenes of theire maners, for the servante will usuallye thow his maister, and thinketh it noe offence. As manye as come out of the countrey of Weisford, saye they under stande noe Irishe, neyther doth enye well understande their Englishe. They are so increased that there are some whole parishes inhabited by the Irishe, haveinge not one Englishe or Welshe, but the parson of the parishe; and these Irishe people here doe use their Countrey trade in makeing of Aquavitie in great abundance, which they carrye to be sould abroade the countrey on horsbacks and otherwise, soe that weekly you may be sure to have Aquavitie to be sold at your dore: and by meanes thereof it is growne to be usuall drinke in most mens houses instede of wyne, some of them makinge exceedinge goode, and soulde better cheap then in any parte of England or Ireland, for I have drunke as

good as some Rosa Solis made by them, and this solde usuallye for xvj^{d}. a quarte; but comonly you shall have verye good for x^{d} or xij^{d} the quarte, which is better cheape then ever I could buye the like in anye parte of England."

The known continuance of the Irish in Pembrokeshire for more than sixty years, down to 1603, would lead one to expect that some remains of this colonization might still be traced in Pembroke, Tenby, or Haverford West, if it were only in family names; but upon the most accurate inquiries it appears that not only every trace, but even the tradition of it is worn out.

LETTER LXVIII.

Sir Thomas More to Cardinal Wolsey.

[MS. COTTON. TITUS B. XI. fol. 391. *Orig.*]

*** The Reader is now presented with a short series of Letters to Cardinal Wolsey from the pen of SIR THOMAS MORE. It is singular that not one of these has the date of the year attached; but they appear mostly, from internal evidence, to have been written either before, or about 1523.

From these, as well as from other Letters in the present Volume, it will be perceived that in one point many of our Historians have made a false estimate of the character of Henry the Eighth. They have represented him, in the earlier portion of his reign, as little better than a voluptuary absorbed in the pleasures and the splendor of his Court, while the Cardinal really held the reins of government.

But it will be found that Wolsey only occupied the first place in the royal favor. Henry saw his talent for business, and constantly flattered him with thanks: but in every thing governed for himself. Wolsey neither framed a bill for Parliament nor a despatch for a foreign Court, which was not submitted to Henry; and never acted even in domestic politics till he had taken the pleasure of his Sovereign. In a Letter of Sir Thomas More, which is not in the number of those transcribed in the present volume, dated at Abingdon, apparently in 1523, reporting the King's opinion and directions respecting the War in the Low Countries, he says, "After that his Grace *had red and reformed the mynut of this presen Lettre*, he commanded me to wryte unto your Grace on his behalfe that it myght lyke you to take the payne to devise a good round Lettre un to my Lady Margaret in your own name"[a].

[a] MS. Cotton. Galba B. VIII. fol. 74.

At the end of another Letter which has not been transcribed, the greater part of which is taken up with different orders from the King, Sir Thomas has inserted one paragraph which relates to himself, and which is worth preserving. "Ferthermore hit may lyke your good Grace to understand that at the contemplation of your Grace's Lettres, the King's Highnes is graciously content that byside the hundred poundes for my fe for th'office of the Speaker of his Parleament, to be taken at the receipte of his Eschequer, I shall have one other hundred poundes owt of his cofres by th'ands of the tresorer of his Chambre; wherfore in moost humble wise I besech your good Grace that as your graciouse favor hath obteigned hit for me, so it may lyke the same to wryte to Mr. Wiatt that he may deliver hit to such as I shall send for hit: wherby I and all myn, as the manyfold goodnes of your Grace hath all redy bound us, shalbe dayly more and more bounden to pray for your Grace, whom our Lord longe preserve in honor and helth. At Esthamstede the xxvjth day of August" [a].

Sir Thomas More, it will be remembered, though possessed of the highest offices, even at the close of his career, had amassed no wealth for his family.

Hit may lyke your good Grace to undrestand that yisternyght the Kings Grace commanded me to deliver un to your servant Foreste a Supplication put un to his Grace by menne of Waterford in the name of the Citee, by which they complain agaynste the Towne of New Rosse in Ireland for disturbyng the citie of Waterford in the use of a certayn graunt of prise Wynys made and confermed un to theym as they allegge by the Kyngs progenitors: Wherein the Kings Grace commaunded me to advertise your Grace that he calleth to mynd that the Citee of Waterford in all such rebellions as hath happed in Irleland hath allways byden fermely in theire allegiauns, and often tymys done very good and faithefull service to the Kinge his father

[a] MS. Cotton. Titus B. I. fol. 223.

and other his progenitors; for which he saith he bereth theym as your Grace well knoweth very speciall favor. His Grace saith also that he knoweth well and your Grace also that there is mych beryng agaynste theym in Ireland, and that ther the citie standeth so in the daynger of the wild Irishe peple that they can not without great ieopardie resort for the pursuit of theyre right in to such placis of Ireland as the Lawes be ministred in. Wherfore his Grace commaunded me to write un to your Grace, that he requyreth your Grace that it may lyke you either in the Starre Chambre to examine the mater of the said citee, or ellis to committe the same to the examination of sum justices or other, such as your Grace shall thynk convenient, so that they may have expedition with such lawfull favor as it may be a cumfort to theym to se that their trew service is by the Kinge and his Counsaile in England considered; wherby the Kings Grace thinketh that other Cities and Lordis also, in Ireland, shalbe encoraged un to the lyke.

Sir, if it lyke your Grace, at my retorne whan I spake with the King, his Grace was very ioyfull that notwithstanding your so continuall labors in his maters (in which he saied ye have many moo than appere to theym that see you but at Westminster or with the Counsaile) your Grace is so well in helth as he hereth by diverse; and he saith that ye may thank his counsaile thereof by which ye leve the often takyng of me-

dicines that ye were wont to use; and while ye so do he saith ye shall not faile of helth, which our Lord long preserve. At Okyng the vth day of July.

Your moste humble servaunt and mooste bounden beedman

THOMAS MORE.

To my Lord Legats grace.

LETTER LXIX.

Sir Thomas More to Cardinal Wolsey.

[MS. COTTON. GALBA B. V. fol. 270. *Orig.*]

HIT may lyke your good Grace to undrestand that the Kings Grace hath commaunded me to advertise your Grace that the Embassiator of the King of Castile hath this present Wedynesday spoken with his Grace and declared un to hym such newis on the byhalfe of his maister the King of Castile as your Grace knoweth of, for which the Kings Grace requyreth your Grace that there may be such Lettres of gratulation devised un to the said King of Castell as your politique wisedome shall thinke moost convenient.

The Kings Grace hath also commaunded me to shew your Grace that th'embassiator hath requyred his Grace to send his advice to the King of Castile con-

cernyng the mater of the laste Diete, in which the greate Maister of Fraunce deceaced, in which thing th'embassiator desireth to have Lettres of Credence of the Kings Grace by which he myght hym selfe declare to his maister by mowth the Kings advice concernyng the premissis, how be it the Kings Grace thinketh hit mych better that his hole advice be written at length by Lettres devised by the prudent caste of your Grace. The Kings Grace commaunded me ferther to wrighte un to your Grace that among other communications had with thembassiator, his Grace remembred un to hym that he had allway been a very hartie frend un to the King of Castil and during his life so entended to percever, and wold of none erthely thing be more loth than if eny occasion shold fall (which he trusted shold never fall) wherby he myghte be constrayned un to the contrary; for the avoiding wherof his Grace advised th'embassiator that he shold in eny wise counsaile his Maister that he no thing attempte herafter that shold extend to the breche of eny article comprised in the amitee concluded bytwen his Grace and the King of Castil and the French King, which if he did, hys Grace shold think hym selfe bounden to regard the frendship of none erthely man so highly as his othe geven to God for the observation of the said Amite and Liege. The Embassiator is riden fro the court now after diner, and I think he wilbe with your Grace very shortely. And

thus our Lord long preserve your Grace in honor and helth. At Okyng the vjth day of July.

Your mooste humble servaunt and
mooste bounden beedman

THOMAS MORE.

LETTER LXX.

Sir Thomas More to Cardinal Wolsey.

[MS. COTTON. GALBA B. V. fol. 269. *Orig.*]

HIT may lyke your good Grace to undrestand that the Kingis Grace hath commaunded me to wryte un to your Grace that he geveth You harty thankis for your diligent advertisement of all such things as your Grace hath written un to hym in your latter Lettres, towching the contents wherof his Grace hath commaunded me to shew you that he very well lyketh your politique ordre taken with hedyng the King of Castile his orator, which his Grace thinketh very good and honorable. And as towching the overture made by my Lord of Shevers for the mariage of my Lord of Devonshire, the King is well content, and as me semeth, very glad of the motion, wherein he requireth your Grace that it may lyke you to call my Lord of

Devonshire to your Grace, and to advise hym secretely to forbere eny ferther treatie of mariage with my Lord Mountjoy, for a while; staying the matter, not casting hit off: shewing hym that ther is a farre bettre offre made hym, of which the King wold that he shold not know the specialtie byfor he speke with his Grace.

As towching the demeanure of the Cardinall Sedunense concernyng the truste that the Kings Grace did put in hym his Grace commaunded me to shew your Grace that he mystrusted the same hymselfe byfore: and that he so shewed your Grace at Richemount. And though he be not glad of the Cardinallis delyng, yit is he glad he saith that your Grace may se that he fore saw it, wherby he thinketh your Grace will the bettre truste his conjecture hereafter.

I send un to your Grace by your servaunt, this berer, certayn Wryting which the Kings Grace commaunded me to send un to your Grace, to take such ordre in the same as your moost politique wisedom shall thynke convenient. And thus our Lord long preserve your good Grace in honor and helth. At Oking this present Saterday the ixth day of July.

Your moost humble servaunt and
moste bownden beedman

THOMAS MORE.

LETTER LXXI.

Sir Thomas More to Cardinal Wolsey.

[MS. COTTON. VESP. F. XIII. fol. 136 b. *Orig.*]

HIT may like your good Grace to be advertised that according to your Grace's commaundement geven me by your Lettres dated the xxx^th^ day of Auguste I have shewed un to the Kings Grace the byll devised for Sir Richard Wyngfeld subscribed by your Grace, and the old Bill also advertisyng his Grace of such things as your Grace in the new Bill caused to be left owte for th'advantage of his Highnes which points I shewed his Grace cancelled in the old Bill and omitted in the new, for which his Highnes with hartie thanks to your Grace for your labor taken therin hath signed the new, which I have delivered to hym of whom I receaved hit. And thus our Lord long preserve your good Grace in honor and helth. At Okyng the fyrst day of Septembre.

Yo^r^ humble Orator and moost
bounden bedeman

THOMAS MORE.

LETTER LXXII.

Sir Thomas More to Cardinal Wolsey.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. B. I. fol. 302. *Orig.*]

HIT may lyke your good Grace to be advertised that I have received your Graces Lettres directed to my selfe dated the last day of Auguste, with the Lettres of my Lord Admirall to your Grace, sent in Post, and copies of Lettres sent bytwene the Quene of Scotts and his Lordshipp concernyng the maters and affeires of Scotland, with the prudent Answeris of your Grace as well to my said Lord in your awne name, as in the name of the Kings Highnes to the said Quene of Scotts. All which Lettres and copies I have distinctely redde unto his Grace, who hath in the reding therof substancially considered as well the Quene his sisters Lettre with the Lettres agaynward devised and sent by my lord Admirall to her, and his Lettres of advertisement to your Grace, as your moost politique devises and answeres un to all the same; among which the lettre which your Grace devised in the name of his Highnes to the Quene his sister, his Grace so well lyked that I never saw hym lyke thing bettre; and as helpe me God in my pore fantasie, not causeles, for hit is for the quantite one of the best made Lettres

for wordis, mater, sentence, and cowching that ever I redde in my life.

His Highnes, in your Graces Lettre directed to my lord Admirall, marked and well lyked that your Grace towched my said Lord and my Lord Dacres, in that that theire opinions had bene to the lett of the great Roode which if hit had bene ere this tyme made in to Scotland, as by your prudent advice hit had if theyre opinions with other had not bene to the contrarie, hit shold, as by the Quenes Lettre appereth, have bene th'occasion of some great and good effecte.

His Highnes also well allowed that your Grace noteth not onely remisse dealing, but also some suspitione in that the Lord Dacre so litle estemede the mynde and opinion of the Kings sister, wherof he had by his servant so perfait knowledge.

Finally his Highnes is of the mynde of your Grace, and singularly commendeth your policie in that your Grace determineth for a finall way that my Lord Admirall shall sett forth his entreprises without eny longer tracte of tyme, not ceacing to preace theym with all the annoyance possible till they fall ernestely and effectually to some bettre trayne and conformitie. And veryly his Highnes thinketh as your Grace writeth, that for eny lakke of those things which as he wryteth are not yet cummen to hym, he shold not have neded to forbore to have done theym with smaller Roods, at the lest way some annoyauns in the meane season.

I redde also to his Highnes the Lettre of M^r^. Doctor Knyght, written un to your Grace, with your Grace's Lettres written to my selfe, by the tenor wherof his Grace well perceiveth your moost prudent answere devised and made as well to his said embassiator as to thembassiator of themperor, concernyng the disbursyng of such money as his Highnes shold lay owte for th'entretenement of the x^M^ lance knights, wherin his Grace highly well approveth, as well your moost politique foresight, so wisely dowting leste this delay of the declaration myght happen to be a device wherby th'emperor myght spare his awne charge and entreteign th'almaignes with th'only coste of the Kings Grace, as also your moost prudent ordre taken therin, by which his Highnes shalbe bounden to no charge excepte the Duke first passe the Articles sent by Sir John Russll, and that the x^M^ almaynes be levied and joyned with the Duke and he declared enemy to the French King.

I red also to his Highnes the copie of your Graces Lettres devised to M. Doctor Sampson and M. Jernyngham, wherin his Highnes well perceived and marked what labor and payn your Grace had taken as well in substantiall advertising his said embassiators at length of all occurraunts here, with the goodly rehersall of the valiaunt acquitall of his army on the See not onely there done, but also descending on the land with all his preparations and armyes sett forth and furnyshed as well toward France as Scotland, as also

in your good and substantiall instructions geven un to theym for the semblable advauncyng of th'emperors Army and actuall invasion to be made on that side for his part.

His Highnes hath also seen and signed the Lettres by your Grace devised in his name, as well to Don Ferdinando and to the Duke of Mechelberge in answere of their late lettres sent un to his Grace, as also to the Duke of Ferrare in commendation of the Kings Orators in case the Duke accepte the Ordre.

In the reding and advising of all which things, his Highnes saied that he perceived well what labor, studie, payn, and travaile your Grace had taken in the device and pennyng of so many, so greate things, so high well dispached in so brief tyme, whan the onely redyng therof held hym above twoo howres. His Highnes therfore commaunded me to write un to your Grace that, for your labor, travaile, study, paine, and diligens he geveth your Grace his moost harty, and not more harty than highly well-deserved thanks. And thus our Lord long preserve your good Grace in honor and helth. At Okyng the first day of Septembre.

Your humble Orator and moost
bounden beedman

THOMAS MORE.

LETTER LXXIII.

Sir Thomas More to Cardinal Wolsey.

[MS. COTTON. TIT. B. I. fol. 279. *Orig.*]

HIT may lyke your good Grace to be advertised that the Kings Highnes this nyght going to his souper called me to hym secretely, and commaunded me to wryte unto your Grace that where as hit hath pleased our Lord to call to his mercy M^r^. Myrfyn late Aldreman of London, his Grace very greatly desireth for the speciall favor which he bereth toward Sir William Tyler, that the same Sir William shold have the widoo of the said late Aldreman in mariage. For the furtheraunce wherof his Highnes considering your Grace's well approved wisedome and dexteritie in th'acheving and bringing to good passe his vertuouse and honorable appetites, commaunded me with diligence to advertise your Grace that his Highnes in moost hartie wise requyreth your Grace that hit may lyke you, at the contemplation of this his affectuouse request, by your high wisedome to devise, put in ure[a], and pursue the moost effectuall meanys by which his Grace's desire may in this mater best be brought abowt and goodly take effecte; wherein his Highnes saith that your Grace shall do him a right speciall pleasure, and

[a] fortune, destiny.

bynd the said Sir William duryng his life to pray for your good Grace. Thus mych hath his Grace in this byhalfe commanded me to write to Yours; whom both Our Lord long preserve in honor and helth together. At Esthamstede the xvijth day of Septembre.

Yo^{r}. humble Orator and moost
bounden Beedman.

THOMAS MORE.

LETTER LXXIV.

Sir Thomas More to Cardinal Wolsey.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. B. VI. fol. 439. *Orig.*]

HIT may like your good Grace to be advertised that I have this nyght, after that the Kings Grace had souped, presented and distinctely redde un to his Highnes as well your Grace's Lettre dated the xxjth day of this present Septembre addressed un to my selfe, as the iiij. lettres of the Quene of Scotts, directed twayne to the Kings Grace, and thother twayn to my Lord of Surrey; and also the twoo lettres by your good Grace in the Kings name moost politiquely devised un to the said Quene of Scotts. For which your labour, payne, traveil, diligence, and study therin used, his Grace geveth unto Yours his moost affectuouse thankis. And

for as mych as in the reding of my Lord of Surrey's Lettre directed un to your Grace, the King noted that my said Lord had all redy wrytten un to the Quene of Scotts answer un to both her said Lettres: his Grace requyreth Yours that it may lyke you to send hym the copies which his lettre specifieth to have sent un to your Grace.

His Grace also thinketh hit right good that the Humes and Duglas be received upon convenient hostages; and that as well the Chauncellor as the other Lords mencioned in the Quenes lettre shold be attempted by promessis, gifts, and good policie to be wonne from the Duke and his faction.

And for as mych as his Grace mych desireth in these things to be advertised of your moost politique advise and counsaile, which he thinketh your Grace entendeth to declare by way of instructions to be gevyn un to my said Lord of Surrey, his Highnes therfore hartely requyreth your Grace that it may lyke the same to send to hym the said instructions, that his Grace may by the same be lerned of your Grace's prudent advise and counsaile in the premissis.

His Highnes thinketh hit very necessary not onely that my lord of Surrey were in all possible haste advertised of the declaration of the Duke of Burbon, but also that the same were insert within the lettre which the Quene of Scottes shall shew to the Lordis, with good exaggeration of the tyranny for which he re-

nounceth the French King; and of the harme and ruyne that is lykely to fall to Fraunce therby.

His Highnes also requyreth your Grace to paise[a] and considre the clawse of the Queny's lettre by which she desireth with her trustie servants to be received in to his realme, and how your high wisedome thinketh good that mater to be ordered or answered. And to th'entent in all these things your Grace may the more conveniently send hym your moost prudent advise, he hath commaunded me, with these presents, to remitt all the said wrytings un to your good Grace, to be by your good Grace agayne sent un to his Highnes with your moost politique counsaile theruppon. And thus our Lord long preserve your good Grace in honor and helth. Wrytten at Woodstok the xxijth day of Septembre at mydnyght.

Your humble orator and moost
bounden beedman
THOMAS MORE.

To my Lord Legates
good Grace.

LETTER LXXV.

Sir Thomas More to Cardinal Wolsey.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. B. I. fol. 306. *Orig.*]

HIT may lyke your good Grace to be advertised that I have this nyght received and presented un to

[a] weigh.

the Kings Grace as well your Graces Lettre wrytten to my selfe dated this present Day, as also the copies of my Lord of Surreis Lettres wrytten to the Quene of Scotts, with the copie of your Graces formar Lettre wrytten and sent un to my said Lord, and your Lettre of new devised at this tyme to be sent; by all which his Highnes well perceiveth not onely your Graces high polycie in the devising and ordering of his affeires and busynes comprised in the same but also your mervelouse diligence and celerite in th'epedition[a] and spede of the same; for his Highnes seeth all such things as he commanded me to put your Grace in rememberaunce of on his byhalfe, by your high diligence anticipated, and all redy done ere his Grace thought theron. Wherfore his Highnes with moost harty thanks un to your Grace for your great labour, payne, and diligence used therein, hath signed the lettres in his name by your Grace devised un to his sistre the Quene of Scotts, commanding me forthwith to depech the Post agayn un to your Grace with the same. And thus our Lord long preserve your good Grace in honor and helth. At Wodestok the xxiiijth day of Septembr

Your humble Orator and moost
bounden beedman

THOMAS MORE.

[a] The expedition.

LETTER LXXVI.

Sir Thomas More to Cardinal Wolsey.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. B. I. fol. 301. *Orig.*]

HIT may like your good Grace to be advertised that I have this nyght, after the Kings Grace had souped, presented and redde un to his Highnes as well your Graces Lettre wrytten un to me dated Yesterday, as the Lettres of the Quene of Scotts wrytten to my lord of Surrey, with the Lettres of his Lordishippe, as well answeryng her Grace as advertising yours. The Kings Highnes is glad that my Lord of Surrey now bygynneth savourely to perceve that the lords of Scotland entend but onely to dreve over the tyme of theyre annoyaunce; and mych would his Grace have bene gladder that my Lord had savored hit before, for than his Grace thinketh that as well the feat that shall now be done, or is by this done, myght have bene long synnys done, and peradventur mych more. His Highnes also lyketh not all the beste that my Lord of Surrey in his lettre wrytten to the Quene which he wold she shold shew to the lords of Scottland appointeth theym the tyme and place where they shall send to hym to Gedworth, for his Grace thinketh the tyme and place so certaynly knowen it shalbe a good occasion to the Scotts the more surely to withstand his entreprise. How be it his Grace trusteth in God hit shalbe or is by this tyme well inough.

His Highnes is very sory of the plage, and the ferfent agues fallen in his army to the great minishing of the same; for the remedy and reinforcing wherof his Highnes thinketh no thinge more profitable than for the causes in your Grace's Lettres moost prudently remembred, that the places of them that are departed to God, or sent bakke to Calais to be cured, shold be, and so is he content they shalbe supplied with as many horsemen of those parties. And thereof his Grace requyreth Yours that my lord of Suffolke may be advertised.

Finally that hit lyketh your good Grace so benygnely to accepte and take in worth my pore service, and so far above my merits to commend the same in that Lettre which of myn accustumed maner your Grace foreknewe the Kings Grace shold se; wherby his Highnes shold have occasion to accepte hit in lyke wise, and so lyked your Grace in one Lettre both geve me your thanks and gete me his. I were my good Lord very blynde if I perceived not, very unkinde if ever I forgate, of what graciouse favor it procedeth, which I can never otherwise reanswere than with my pore prayor, which duryng my life shall never faile to pray to God for the preservation of your good Grace in honor and helth. At Wodestoke the xxvjth day of Septembre.

Your humble Orator and moost
bounden beedman

To my Lord Legats
good Grace.

THOMAS MORE.

LETTER LXXVII.

The Earl of Surrey to Cardinal Wolsey after the burning of Jedburgh. A. D. 1523.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. B. II. fol 29. *Orig.*]

PLESITH it your Grace to be advertised, that upon Fridaye at x. a clok at nyght I retorned to this towne, and all the garnysons[a] to their places assigned, the busshopriche men, my lorde of Westmerland, and my Lord Dacre in likewise, every man home with their companys, without los of any men thanked be God saving viij. or x. slayne, and dyvers hurt at skyrmishis and saults of the towne of Gedworth and the forteresses; whiche towne is soo suerly brent, that noo garnysons ner none other shalbe lodged there, unto the tyme it be newe buylded: the brennyng whereof I commytted to twoo sure men, Sir William Bulmer and Thomas Tempeste.

The Towne was moche bettir then I went[b] it had been, for there was twoo tymys moo howses therein then in Berwike, and vell[c] buylded with many honest and faire howses therein, sufficiente to have lodged M[l] horsemen in garnyson, and six good towres therein; which towne and towres bee clerely distroyed, brent, and throwen downe. Undoubtedly there was noo jorney made into Scotland in noo manys[d] day, leving

[a] garrisons. [b] wened. [c] well. [d] man's.

with soo fewe a nombre, that is recownted to bee soo high and enterprice as this, bothe with thies contreymen and Scottishmen, nor of truthe somoche hurt doon; but in th'ende a great mysfortune ded fall, onely by foly, that suche order as was comaunded by me to bee kepte was not observed, the maner wherof herafter shall ensue.

Bifore myn entre into Scotland I appointed Sir William Bulmer and Sir William Overs to be marshallis of th'army: Sir William Bulmer for the vangard, and Sir William Overs for the reregard. In the vangard I appointed my lord of Westmerland as cheif, with all the busshopriche, Sir William Bulmer, Sir William Overs, my Lord Dacre with all his company; and with me remayned all the rest of the garnysons and the Northumberland men. I was of counsaill with the Marshallis at th'ordering of our lodgings, and our campe was soo well environned with ordynaunce, carts, and diks, that hard it was to entre or issue, but at certain places appointed for that purpoos; and assigned the mooste commodious place of the said campe for my Lord Dacre company next the water, and next my Lord of Westmerland. And at suche tyme as my Lord Dacre came into the feld, I being at the sault[a] of th'abbay, whiche contynued unto twoo houres within nyght, my said lord Dacre wold in nowise bee contente to ly within the campe, which was

[a] assault.

made right sure, but lodged hymself without, wherewith at my retorne I was not contente, but than it was to late to remove. The next day I sente my seid Lord Dacre to a strong hold called Fernherst, the lorde whereof was his mortall enemy, and with him Sir Arthure Darcy, Sir Marmaduke Constable, with vij c. of their men, one cortoute, and dyvers other good peces of ordynaunce for the feld. The seid Fernherste stode marvelous strongly within a great woode. The seid twoo knights with the moost parte of their men, and Strikland your Graces servaunte, with iij C. Kendall men, went into the woode on fote with th'ordynaunce, where the seid Kendall men were soo handled that they found hardy men that went noo foote bak for theym. The other twoo Knights were alsoo soo sharply assayled that they were enforced to call for moo of their men, and yet could not bring th'ordynaunce to the forteresse unto the tyme my lord Dacre with part of his horsemen lighted on fote, and marvelously herdly handled hymself; and fynally with long stikmyshing [a] and moche difficultie, gut forthe th' ordynaunce, wan the howse, and threwe downe the same. At whiche skyrmyshe my seid Lord Dacre and his brother Sir Cristofer, Sir Arthure, and Sir Marmaduke, and many other gentilmen, ded marvelously hardly, and found the best resistence that hath be seen sith my comyng to thies parties, and above

[a] skirmishing.

xxx^{ti} Scottis slayne, and not passing iiij. English men; but above sixty hurt. Aftir that, my seid Lord retornyng to the campe, wold in nowise bee lodged in the same, but where he laye the furst nyght: and he being with me at souper about viij. a clok, the horses of his company brake lowse, and sodenly ran out of his feld in suche nombre that it caused a marvelous alarome in our feld; and our standing watche being set, the horses cam ronnyng along the campe, at whome were shot above one hundred sheif of arrowes and dyvers gonnys, thinking they had bee Scotts that wold have saulted the campe. Fynally the horses were soo madde that they ran like wild dere into the feld above xv. C. at the leest in dyvers companys; and in one place above l. fill downe a great rok and slewe theymself; and above two hundred and fifty ran into the towne being on fire, and by the women taken and caried awaye, right evil brent; and many were taken agayne; but fynally by that I can esteme by the nombre of theym that I sawe goo on fote the next daye, I think there is lost above viij. C. horses, and all with foly for lak of not lying within the campe. I dare not write the wonders that my Lord Dacre and all his company doo saye they sawe that nyght, vj. tymys, of sprits and ferefull sights. And unyversally all their company saye playnely, the Devill was that nyght amongs theym vj. tymys. Whiche mysfortune hath blemyshed the best Jorney that was made in Scotland

many yeres. I assure your Grace I found the Scotts at this tyme the boldest men, and the hotest that ever I sawe any nation: and all the Jorney, upon all parts of th'army kept us with so contynuall skyrmyshe that I never sawe the like. If they myght assemble forty thousand as good men as I nowe sawe fifteen hundred or two thousand, it wold bee an herd encounter to mete theym. Pitie it is of my lord Dacres losse of the horses of his company. He brought with hym above four thousand men, and lodged one nyght in Scotland in his moost mortall enemys contre. There is noo herdyer ner bettir knyght, but often tym he doth not use the most sure ordre; whiche he hath nowe payed derely for. Written at Berwike the xxvij. of September.

Your most bownden

T. SURREY.

To my Lord Legats
goode Grace.

LETTER LXXVIII.

Cecily Marchioness of Dorset to Thomas Cromwell, afterwards Lord Cromwell.

[MS. COTTON. VESP. F. XIII. fol. 91. *Orig.*]

*** The following short Letter, in itself, perhaps, is of no great moment; but it indicates some connexion between lord Cromwell in his earlier days and the household of the Marchioness of Dorset, of which, it is believed, no notice appears elsewhere.

The lady Cecily, the writer of this letter, was the daughter of Lord Bonvile, and widow of Sir Thomas Grey first Marquis of Dorset, who was one of the assassins of the son of Henry the Sixth after the battle of Tewkesbury. She married to her second husband Henry Earl of Wiltshire, whom she also survived.

Leonard Grey her son, mentioned in this Letter, was the same who in the 27th. of Henry the Eighth officiated as Deputy of Ireland for the young Duke of Richmond, and who was beheaded in the 31st. of Henry VIIIth.

CROMWELL, I woll that yow send to me in hast the trussynn bed of cloth of tyssewe, and the fether bed, wyth the fustyons and a materas longynn to the same wyth the counterpoynt; also I woll that you delyver all such tents, pavylyons, and hales[a] as you have of myne on to my sonne Lenard, as you tender my plesur. And thys shall be your suffycyant warrant and dyscharge att all tymes. Wrytyn at Bedwell thys present Thorysdaye by foore our Lady daye the Assumpcyon.

CECYL DORSETT.

LETTER LXXIX.

. . . . . *to the Earl of Surrey, Lieutenant of the North.* A. D. 1523.

[MS. COTTON. TITUS B. I. fol. 112. *Orig.*]

*** The Signature of the writer of this Letter appears to have been designedly torn off. The Letter itself contains a picture, drawn at the moment, of the resistance which King Henry the Eighth received from the Parlia-

[a] halls.

ment held at the Blackfriers in 1523, upon the demand for a supply; the question, to use the words of the writer, being "debated and beaten for FIFTEEN or SIXTEEN days together."

Wolsey, in his most gorgeous state, his cardinal's hat borne before him, went down to the House to make the demand in person: and afterwards went a second time, to reason, as he said, with those who opposed the measure.

The Answer of Sir Thomas More the Speaker, on the first of these occasions, was not unlike that which another Speaker made to Charles the First when he demanded the Five Members. The Cardinal, it is said, having finished his harangue, was greatly offended at the profound silence which ensued; whereupon the Speaker, falling on his knees, excused the silence of the House, by saying they were abashed at the sight of so noble a personage; adding, that, for himself, except all the members present could put their several thoughts into his head, he was unable to give his Grace an answer in so weighty a matter.

Henry the Eighth was so much disgusted with the opposition which he met with at this time, that he did not call another Parliament for seven years.

PLEAS it youre good lordship to understande, that sithens the begynnyng of the Parliamente there hathe bene the grettiste and soreste hold in the lower Hous for payemente of ij^{s}. of the li. that ever was sene I thinke in any parliamente. This matier hathe bene debated and beatten xv. or xvj dayes to giddir: the hieste necessitie alleged on the Kings behalf to us that ever was herd of: and of the contrarie, the hieste povertie confessed, as well by knights, squiers, and gentilmen of every quarter, as by the commoners, citezeins, and burgessis. There hathe bene suche hold that the Hous was like to have bene dissevered; that is to sey the Knights being of the Kings Counsaill, the Kings servaunts, and gentilmen, of the oon partie, whiche in soo long tyme were spoken with and made to sey ye; it

may fortune, contrarie to their hert, will, and conscience. Thus hanging this matier, yestirdaye the more parte being the Kings servaunts, gentilmen, were there assembled; and so they being the more parte, willid and gave to the King ij^{s}. of the li. of goods or lands, the beste to be takene for the King, all lands to paye ij^{s}. of the li from the loweste to the hieste; the goods to paye ij^{s}. of the li. from xx^{li} upwards; and from xl^{s}. of goods to xx^{li}. to pay xvj^{d}. of the li. and undre xl^{s}. every persone to paye viij^{d}. this to be payed in ij. yeres. I have herd no man yn my lif that can remembre that ever ther was geven to any oon of the Kings auncestours half somoche at oon graunte; ner I thinke there was never suche a presidente sene before this tyme. I beseke almightie God it maye bee well and peasibly levied, and surely payed unto the Kings Grace with oute grudge, and specially with oute losying the good wills and true herts of his subjects, whiche I rekene a ferre grettir treasure for a King then gold or silver. And the gentilmen whiche muste take payne to levie this money amongs the Kings subjects I think shalhave no litle besynes aboute the same.

My lorde Cardinall hathe promysed on his feithe that the ij^{s}. of the li of lone money shalbe payed with a good will and with thanke. But no daye is appoyntid thereof.

I thinke nowe that this matier is soo ferre passid that the parliament woll sone bee endid.

Asto the Convocation amongs the prests, the furste

daye of their apparence assone as masse of the holie gooste at Paulis was done, my lorde Cardinall assited all theim t'appere before hym in his Convocation at Westm^{r}: whiche soo did: and there was a nother masse of the holie gooste: and within vj. or vij dayes, the prests proved that all that my lorde Cardinalls Convocation shuld doo, it shuld bee voyde, because that their somons was t'appere before my Lorde of Cauntirbury; whiche thing soo espied, my lorde Cardinall hath addressed oute of newe Citacions in to every cuntrey commaunding the prests t'appere before hym viij. dayes after th'Ascencon; and then I thinke they shalhave the iij^{de} masse of the Holie Gooste. I praye god the holie gooste bee amongs theim and us bothe. I doo tremble to remembre the ende of all thies hye and newe entreprises: for oftene tymes it hathe bene sene that to a newe entreprise there folowethe a newe maner and strange sequele. God of his mercie sende his grace of suche facion that it maye bee all for the beste.

T'assertayne you of the King of Denmark's[a] being yn Flaundres with xvj. shippis with his wif and childrene mesemethe I shuld not write it unto you, because I thinke ye bee advertised thereof by poste.

Howe this ij^{s}. of the li shalbe levied, of what maner or at what dayes it shalbe payed, yn good feithe I knowe not as yet.

Oute of Spayne we have newes that there is a truce or abstynence of Were taken bitwe themperor and

[a] Christian the Second.

theim of Fraunce. And I thinke nowe that this money is grauntid, soo shall it bee with us.

Under youre good favor mesemethe, and if ye thinke it beste, it were a gracious dede for you, to bee meane unto the Kings Highnes that x or xij M. li of this money mought bee bestowed on the bielding up againe of the Piles and Castells on oure englishe borders; specially nowe that they of Scotland bee prostrate by your good and hye pollicie.

As other newes or affayres shall chaunce soo shall I bee glad wt diligence t'advertise you of from tyme to tyme.

My Lord Priveseall, my Lord Vaux, and Sir Thomas Lovell bee all iij. right sike at this presente daye, and as it is seyd Lorde Vaux in great daunger. Written at London on Assencon daye by hym that during his lif shalbe glad to bee at your commaundements with his service.

. . . . . .

LETTER LXXX.

The Earl of Surrey to Cardinal Wolsey. A. D. 1523.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. B. VI. fol. 315. *Orig.*]

*** The Reader is now presented with Four Letters illustrative of the bickering which was still maintained between the English and the Scots.

The first, from the son of that Lord Surrey who gained the Victory of Flodden, will be read with considerable interest. It was written at the time he began to collect his Army against the expected Invasion of the Duke of Albany. The Prioress of Coldstream is represented in it as a spie

upon whose information he placed his best reliance; and her services in this way are not unfrequently recorded in other Letters [a]. Some singular anecdotes will also be found in it of Albany himself.

The succeeding Letter announces Lord Surrey's farther preparations, and by the anxiety which he expresses for his family, seems to indicate that a contest was expected, in which hope was not unmixed with disadvantageous apprehensions.

The result which will be found in the third Letter, exhibits Albany as deficient in courage as in military skill.

The fourth, is King Henry's Letter to Lord Surrey communicating his thanks for the defeat of Albany.

PLESITH it your Grace too be advertised, that this Day at x. a clok I received one Lettre of newes from Sir William Bulmer sente hym fro the Priores of Calestreme, and one other sente to me fro the Lord Ogle from Wark of such newes as he hath fro the Priores of Ocles in Scotlande. I beleve right moche that the contents of the Priores of Calestremys Lettres bee trewe; and thoder doo not moche vary fro the same. Alsoo by dyuers other wayes I have advertisments that the Duke prepareth all that he can t'invade this realme with the light of this nexte newe Mone, and by his words doo right litle esteme the poure of England.

[a] Thomas Grey, second marquis of Dorset, who in 1524 was warden of the East and Middle Marches, writing to King Henry the Eighth April 16th that year, says, "Please it your moste noble Grace to be advertysed that of late the Quene's Grace of Scotlond your Sister wrote her especiall Lettres of requeste aswell unto my Lorde your Lieutenant as to me, to forbere and save fro brennyng a poore religeus House of Nunnes called CALESTREME, the Prioresse wherof her Grace reporteth to be very goode and kynde unto her. Wherupon bothe my seyd Lorde Lieutenante and I have graunted hyr requeste, and have so writon unto her Grace accordingly. A nother cause which moved us the sonner to assure the seyd House, was, by cause the Prioresse therof is oon of the beste and assured spyes that we have in Scotlond for whiche cause we maye not well spare her. She lately sent us worde howe that the Quenes Grace is deperted from Sterling, whither she doth not ascertain us, and hath takyn with hyr all the Frenshemen that were aboute the Kings Grace hyr Sone, whiche I preye Gode be trewe; and as we shall here and understonde more of her Grace, or other newes fro the seyd prioresse so shall your Highenesse be advertysed from tyme to tyme accordingly." MS. Cotton. Calig. B. III. fol. 255.

Wherefor to theffecte of yor Graces late Lettre I shall tomorrowe send lettres to all the noble men and gentilmen dwelling withen the Shiris conteyned in my commyssion too bee here in this Towne the xx^ti. daye of this Moneth, trusting that and all men come accordingle the seid Duke shall fynd more sharp recistance than he doth loke for. And notwithstanding that the weder hath bee here soo foule with mervelous greate rayne dyvers dayes, and mooste specially yesterdaye with rayne and this daye with snowe, soo that the opinion of many wise men is it shalbe very difficile for the seid Duke to cary any greate ordynance onles it bee to Berwike, yet forasmoche as he myght doo enfynyte hurte in over rynnyng the Contre onles he were recisted, I shale cause all my seid poure to come forewards, and to bee here at the daye prefixed. And if I shall see that the Duke shall altre his purpoos in setting furth I shall contermawnde theym, too thentente the Kingis Highnes shalbe put too no more chardge shalbe requysite; whereunto I shalhave the beste regard I can, the daunger of distruccion of the contre by thennemys provided for.

Mooste humble beseeching your Grace too helpe that some noblemen and gentilmen of the Kingis hous and the south parties maye be sente hither though they bring no greate nombres with theym. God knoweth if the poreste gentilman in the Kingis hous were here, and I at London and were advertised of

thies newes I wold not faile to knele upon my knees bifore the kings grace too have licence too come hither in poste too bee at the daye of batayle. And if yong noble men and gentilmen be not desierous and willing to be at suche jorneys, and to take the payne and yeve the adventure, and the Kingis highnes well contented with thoos that woll so doo, and not regarding others that wolbe but dauncers, disers, and carders, his Grace shall not bee well served when he wold bee; for men withoute experience shall doo small servyce, and experience of war woll not be had withoute it be sought for and the adventure yeven. Of likelihode no man leving[a] shall ever lyve to se the Scotts attempte t'envade this realme with the powre of Scotland if they may bee well resisted nowe. And by many wayes I am advertised that the Duke of Albany is a mervelous wilfull man, and woll beleve noo mannys counsaill, but woll have his owne opinion folowed. And bicause the Frenche King hath be at soo greate chardges by his provoking, having his wiffs inherytance lying within his domynyons, dare not for no Scottish counsell forbere t'envade this realme. I am also advertised that he is so passionate that and he bee aperte amongis his familiers, and doth here[b] any thing contrarius to his myende and pleasure, his accustumed manner is too take his bonet sodenly of his hed and to throwe it in the fire; and no man dare take it oute, but let

[a] living. [b] hear.

it to be brent. My Lord Dacre doth affirme that at his last being in Scotland he did borne above a dosyn bonetts aftir that maner. And if he be suche a man, with Gods grace we shall spede the bettir with hym. Fynally, mooste humble I beseche your Grace to send more money, at the leeste viij M^{li}; and t'advertise me of the Kingis pleasure and yours howe I shalbe further ordred in any thing ye woll commaunde me, whiche too the beste of my poure I shall fulfill, trusting that the gonners be well on the waye hiderwards. And sory I am that the Kingis Highnes and your Grace be nowe so fer in sondre, whiche I perceive is th'occasion that my Lettres sente to your Grace from tyme too tyme bee the lenger un answered, and also moche slouth is used by the Posts wiche maye be amended if it woll pleas your Grace to write one open Lettre too all the Posts, chardging theym to make such diligence nowe in riding that your Graces Lettres fro London to this towne, and my Lettres fro this Towne to London, maye bee conveyed in xlviij. houres at the leeste, whiche they maye well doo. And thanked be God, this nyght and this daye I have ben well amended of my diseases. Written at Newcastell the viijth day of Octobr.

Your's most bownden

T. SURREY.

To my Lord Legats
good Grace.

LETTER LXXXI.

Lord Surrey to Cardinal Wolsey.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. B. VI. fol. 289. *Orig.*]

PLEASETH it your Grace to bee advertised that I have forborne to write to your Grace sith the xviij. of this moneth, having no verey certain tydings what the Duke entendeth to do unto this day that I have received dyvers Lettres as well fro the Quene of Scottis, fro Sir William Bulmer, and others, all which Lettres I send herewith unto your Grace. And where in one Lettre is conteyned that she doth send her servant unto me for peace comprehending Fraunce, I truste this night or tomorrow to be advertised fro your Grace of the Kingis pleasure and Yours howe I shalbe ordred in aunswering any offre to be made to me for truse or peace, and shall defer making any answer unto the tyme I shall knowe the same. And as towching the comprehension of France, onles your Grace do write to me what answer I shall make therein, I shall saye that I have none auctoritie to speke therein; and that I beleve verely the Kingis highnes woll not be content therewith, and that I believe his Highnes woll think the Duke of Albany to be too meane a personage to medle with soo high a matier: notwithstanding I woll advertise his Grace thereof, and when

I shall knowe his mooste graciouse pleasure I shall advertise your Grace of the same.

And as touching her comyng awaye I shall shewe her that I have commandemente to receive her if she come, notwithstanding I think she might both doo more good in Scotland to the Kingis highnes and to the King her son, then she shuld do being in England. Assuering her that she shall lak no good helpe of the Kingis Grace, she contynuing in her good mynde towards his Highnes.

Also pleaseth it your Grace to be advertised that upon Tuysdaye last my Lord Marquise[a] with all the gentilmen of the Kingis hous came hither: and the same day came my lorde of Northumberland, my lord Clifford, my lorde Latymer, my lord Darcy, my lord Scrope. And sith that time is come all theire powere, and all other gentilmen of Yorkshire hooly, and in likewise Lancashire, and dyvers of Cheshire, Notingham, Derby, Staff. and Shropshire, and all your Grace's retynue. And this daye is come your Grace's treasourer Sir William Gascoyne. I assure your Grace, God willing, we shall have men inoughe; and the beste willed men unyversally fro the higheste to the loweste that ever I sawe. And bicause all bee not yet come asfer as Duresme, and also that the wether hath bee soo mervelously reyne whiche hath so raysed the waters that noo man maye pas from hens north-

[a] Thomas Grey, second Marquis of Dorset.

ward. And also for that I was not advertised that the Duke was set forewards, nor knowing whiche waye he wold hold, I have stopped thos that came furste in this towne and bitwene this and Morpath and Hexham, and th'oders abouts Duresme. And tomorowe my Lorde Marques shall marche to Anwike, and with hym my lord Darcy and many others, to th'entente that and the Duke wold send in any good nombre to overrun the contre they maye be redy to defend the same. And I with the reste woll not marche past Morpath myself, and thos nowe that bee at Duresme unto this towne, unto the tyme I shall suerly know whether he woll goo to th'Esteborder or the Weste. For if I shuld goo any further I shuld bee compelled to retorne for lak of vitell: for I can get no cariage in maner for money too cary any with me. Assuering your Grace that I think it not possible the Duke can bring his Ordinaunce unto Norham, Wark, or Carlizle before Mondaye, though it reyned no more unto that tyme, the waters bee nowe soo marvelously greate that no man leving[a] hath seen them greatter; but unto Berwicke he maye well com upon the ferther side of the water. Praying God to send hym thither, where I truste he shall not onely consume his tyme in vayne, somany good men nowe being within the Towne, but alsoo we comyng thidder shall have some reasonable store of vitell, and shalbe

[a] living.

able to geve batayle at our advantage. Fynally assure your Grace I and all others here bee all aferde of one thing that he shall not dare abide us. And grete pitie it were that the Kingis Highnes shuld spend thus moche money withoute batayle. And, as I think if he abide us we shall mete about Tuysdaye nexte.

He doth make grete booste off the londyng off Richard de la Pole in Scotlond assewryng the Lords off Scotlond that he shall have gret help in this realme, wherfor after my poure opinion it wer well done Sir Riz ap Thomas wer warned to be in a redynes, for the seid Duc seith he shall londe in Wales. Iff your Grace know any man suspect I dout not ye woll provyde that he shall not shyp away. I know no man lyvyng that I shuld mystrust, but he hath spoken so largely and dayle doth, that I know not what to thynk.

Most humble besechyng your Grace that and I fortewne to myscary in this Journey, to be gode lord to my poure chylderne, assewryng your Grace that without the Kyng's gracious favour and your Grace's shewed unto them, they shalbe undone. For I have spent somoch to serve the Kyng's Hyghnes, that, iff God do now his plesure off me, I shall leve them the pourest noblemanny's childerne that died in this realme thes xl. yers; havyng neyther goods nor fote off londe to put in feofment to do them gode after me. And therfor most humble I beseche Your Grace to be gode and gracious Lord to them, for my poure

service done in tymes past. Scribled the xxiij. day off October at xj. at nyght.[a]

Yo^rs^. most bownden

T. SURREY.

To my Lord Legats
good Grace.

LETTER LXXXII.

Lord Surrey to King Henry the Eighth.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. B. VI. fol. 304. *Orig.*]

PLESITH it your Highnes to be advertised that upon Satirdaye at night the Duke of Albany with a greate puysance brought his ordynaunce unto Werk, on the fer side of Twede, upon Scotland side, and began to shote right sore upon Sondaye by the breke of daye, and so contynued all that daye and Mondaye. At whiche tyme I being at Holy Island, vij. myles from Berwike, was advertised of the same at seven a clok at night the said Sondaye; and incontynente sent Lettres to my lord Cardynalls company, my lord of Northumberland, my lord of Westmoreland at Sainte Cutberts baner lying at Anwike and thereabouts, and in likewise to my lord Dacre and other lords and gentilmen lying abrode in the countre, too mete me at

[a] The last sixteen lines only of this letter are in Lord Surrey's own hand.

Barmer wood, fyve myles from Werk on Mondaye, who so ded. And the seid Monday at iij. a cloke at aftir none, the water of Twede being soo high that it could not be riden the Duke sent over ij M. Frenche men in bootis[a] to gif assault to the place, who with force entred the bas courte, and by Sir William Lizle captain of the Castell with a hundred with him were right manfully defended by the space of one houre and an half, without suffring theym t'entre the Inner Ward; but fynally the seid Frenchemen entred the Inner warde, whiche perceived by the seid Sir William and his company frely set upon theym, and not onely drove theym oute of the Inner warde, but alsoo oute of the Uttir warde, and slewe of the seid Frenche men x. personys. And so the seid Frenche men wente over the water; and incontynent the seid Sir William advertised me of the said assaulte, desiering too have reskue this daye, or els the place wold be no lenger kepte: whereof I being advertised by thre a clok this mornyng, avaunced foreward with the hole army by the breke of daye. And the Duke hering that I cam towards hym toke away his ordynance, and in likewise departed hymself with his hoole company, but as yet I cannot advertise your Grace of trouth howe fer he is goon, but tomorrowe I doubte not I shall knowe the certentie. Sir I doubte moche that if he here that I breke this army that he woll retorne with his

[a] boats.

ordynance unto Werk, whiche I feare woll not hold long againste hym; for and if I had not made newe fortifications of bulwerks of erthe, it had not be tenable one half daye. I wold it were in the See, for I knowe not how to get men to remayne in it. Sir undoubtedly ther was never man departed with more shame nor with more feare than the Duke hath doon this daye: and notwithstanding the greate Assemble that he hath made in Scotland he hath not doon x^s. worth of hurte within your Grace's realme, nor never durste hymself entre the same. Sir I feare me it shall not be possible for me to kepe this Army no longer togidder; for suche as come oute of the bisshopriche, this contre, and other places, at their own costs, have spent all that they have; and with moche difficulte and faire words have kepte theym here thus long. Notwithstanding I shall doo my beste to kepe theym togidder unto the tyme that I shall knowe the Duks army bee perspoiled. Assuering your Grace that maister Magnus hath but iij. M. marks lefte; and if th'army shuld be discharged tomorrowe next, I think x M. marks woll not paye that is owing and conduyte money home. And considering howe paynefully and with howe good will they have served, it were pitie they shuld departe withoute having that was promysed theym, wherfore mooste humble I beseche your Highnes that convenyent money maye be sente hither with diligence. And if it come not bifore the departing

hens of th'army, to th'entente they shuld not goo hens groudging and speking shrodly, I shall delyver theym asmoche as is here with asmoche more as I maye borowe. And also I shall bynd myself by my bill signed with myn hand to paye theym asmoche as shalbe due for the reste; mooste humble besechyng your Highnes to see me dischardged of the same with convenyente diligence, or els I shalbe uttirly undoon for ever. Also I beseche your Grace to send thankfull lettres to suche as have doon good servyce at this tyme, whos names be conteyned in a bill herein closed: also lx. iiij^{xx} blanks to be written here to suche as I doo not remembre the names of: assuering your Grace that in all my lif I never sawe somany Englishmen in none army nor so well willed as thees were fro the higheste to the loweste, nor never was gentilman so moche bounde as I have been this Jorney to all noblemen, gentilmen, and souldiors; whiche favor they have shewed me for the greate love they bere to your Highnes, and the desierous myende they have to doo your Grace service. Written in the Campe ij. myles from Wark this Tuysday at night.

Your most humble subject and servant

T. SURREY.

To the Kings most
noble Grace.

LETTER LXXXIII.

King Henry the Eighth to the Earl of Surrey.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. B. I. fol. 307. *Orig.*]

HENRY R. By the King.

RIGHT trusty and right welbiloved Cousin we grete you wel; and have receyved your Lettres bearing date the iij^de^ and iiij^th^ dayes of this instant moneth, the first mencyonyng the siege laide by the Duke of Albany unto the Castel of Werke with the assaulte geven unto the same, and the valiant defence therof by Sir William Lisle capitain of that place; and how, upon knowlege geven to the said Duke that ye with our hole armye was coming to the rescue, he shamefully and cowardly removed his siege and fled, but to what place ye then knewe not. By the ij^de^ Lettre apperith upon the reaporte of the Priores of Calstreme howe that on Tuesday at nyght last past about mydnyzt the said Duke being then at Eccles informed that our armye passed the Ryver after hym, removed from thens, toke his ordenance away, and is clerely departed; the truthe wherof ye doubted not to be advertised from diverse wayes by the next daye: at whiche tyme uppon the more knowlege had, ye wolde assemble al the noble men to divise and determyne what ye and they sholde further do, desiring that after

the Duks army skaled, we in consideration of your desease and seknes wolde discharge you, geving you licence to retourne: and thinking the lord Dacres aswel for his strenght as experience in those parties most mete to take the charge of offyce of wardyn til suche tyme as that we shal appoint som other therunto; and finally requiryng that bothe money and our lettres of Thanks may be sent, as in the said lettres is conteyned more at large.. As herunto we signifie unto you, like as thancked be almyzty God, thise newes be right good, comfortable, and honorable unto us and this our Realme; so they be and shalbe unto the said Duke of Albany's perpetual reproche, shame, and losse of reputacion bothe in Fraunce, Scotland, and elliswhere, and to the no little abashement and discorage of the Frenche King, besids the alienation percace of the mynds of the Lords of Scotland more facily then afore from the faction of France unto our devotion. And for the grete travaile, labor, studie, payn, and diligence by you with al effect right actively, valiauntly, and with perfite corage, discrecion, and good conduyte taken and used by many substancial, discrete, and politique wayes for resistence of the said Duke of Albany, with deliberation and intent to have geven hym bataile in cace he durst have abyden the same we geve unto you our most cordial and herty thanks; assuring you that amongs many your high and notable service done unto us, we shal have

this in our contynual and perfite remembrance to your weale, exaltation, honor, and profite as your merits and deserts condignely and worthely do requyre. Praying you also to geve on our behalf special thanks unto all the lords, capitains, and other whiche to their grete payn and travaile have right towardly, benivolently, and conformably served us under you in this Jorney, for whose more corage and comforte, we at this tyme sende suche lettres of thanks as ye desire.

Over this we having tendre respect unto your helthe and comfort, have resolved and determyned that upon advertisement receyved from you of skaling[a] of the said duks armye, and aunswer therupon geven unto you, with ordre for establishing of suche garnisons and other direction to be taken there as for the suretie and weale of that countrey shalbe thought expedient, ye shal then have our Lettres of discharge of your office there and retorne unto us accordingly; being myndyd according to your advice and opynyon that our right trusty counsaillor the Lorde Dacres whom we thinke most mete and able therfor, shal exercise also th'office of Wardeyn of our Est and Myddel Marches for a season, to whom we shall then with our lettres sende sufficient commyssion accordingly. Having no doubte but that by suche direction as our most entierly welbeloved counsaillour the Lord Legate Cardinal Archebisshop of Yorke and our Chauncelor hathe

[a] dispersing.

advertised you, ye be before this tyme sufficiently furnished of money for defraying of that our Armye as shal appertayn. Yeven under our Signet at our manor of Woodstok the xijth day of November.

To our right trusty and right
welbeloved Cousin and Counsaillor th'Erle of
Surrey our Treasorer and Admiralle of England.

LETTER LXXXIV.

King Henry the Eighth to the Citizens of London, on their neglecting to provide horses for the carriage of his wines and provisions.

[MS. COTTON. VESP. C. XIV. fol. 64 b. *Orig.*]

HENRY R.

TRUSTY and welbiloved we grete you wele. Signifieng unto you it is shewed unto us that albeit our welbiloved servant Edward Vaux, oon of the purveyors of our wynes, hath been with you sundry tymes in our name to cause provision to be made for cariage of our wynes from that our Citie of London, for th'expenses of our Household, into these parties: yet nevertheless ye have litle regarded the said provision, as it is sayed, wherby we be destitute of suche wynes as we wold have here: of the which your demeanur herin we cannot a litle mervaile; wherfor we advertise you of the same, willing and commaunding you that

whansoever any our Surveyors either for Wynes or other stuf, from hensforth, shall reasorte unto you in our name for provision of cariage of the same hither or elliswhere where it shall fortune us to be, ye will effectually endevoir yourself for the qwyk expedicion therof, without any failing as ye entende to please us. Yeven under our Signet at our Monasterie of Abendon the xjth day of Aprill.

LETTER LXXXV.

Lord Dacre to Cardinal Wolsey, reporting the Duke of Albany's negociations with the Scottish Lords, and his last departure for France. A. D. 1524.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. B. II. fol. 246. *Orig.*]

*** Upon the termination of Queen Margaret's Regency in consequence of her marriage with Angus, John Duke of Albany, the nephew of James the Third, was invited to take upon him the government of Scotland, and to rule during the minority of James the Fifth. He was at first reluctant to assume the charge, but finally, in the month of May 1515, arrived at Dunbarton to accept it. The Scottish historians have differed widely in the estimate of his character. Laing in completing the last reign of Henry's History of Great Britain, has represented him as a prince of great abilities and great virtues; equally brave and prudent; a lover of order and justice; quick and decisive in his resolutions; and possessing great command of temper in the most trying situations. Pinkerton has completely reversed this character; and it must be owned that the memoirs and documents of the time justify the reversal. His want of common temper and his deficiency in military skill have been illustrated in one or two former Letters; and Wolsey went so far as to call him not only a coward but a fool. "And no little comfort" he says in a Letter to the lord Admiral, "it is to the Kings Highnes, to perceyve that His Grace hath so hardy a

captain as ye be, against such a coward as the Duke of Albany is known to be. So discreet and sober a servant, against so furious and wilful a fool"[a].

Born in France, the Duke of Albany had some attachment to that country from nature; and he was totally ignorant of the laws, and manners, and language of Scotland. If he signed his name, he wrote it in French[b]. He inherited large possessions in France from his mother, and had still larger with his wife, the heiress of Auvergne. He was in the practice also of calling the King of France his master. These circumstances combined, led even his friends to fear that his propensity to France was greater, and perhaps blinder than the policy of Scotland required. His administration, in consequence, became weak and suspected; nor were prognostications wanting of a severe fate to the children of James the Fourth: it was conceived that Albany wanted only a favourable opportunity to usurp the crown. Queen Margaret it will be remembered, distinctly ascribed the death of her second son, the Duke of Ross, to Albany's machinations: and Lord Dacre writing to Wolsey toward the close of Albany's career, strongly advised the keeping him at war till he should depart from Scotland, "for now" he says, "during the time of war, he can in no wise establish the realm. And the same so being, he dare not proceed to his malicious intent and purpose for the destruction of the young King." But Margaret was not very scrupulous in her charges: and Dacre perhaps only joined in a suspicion which might fairly be allowed to be rife in those whose family owed the possession of a throne to the treachery of Richard the Third.

Albany being himself convinced, at last, of the inefficiency of his Rule, asked permission to leave Scotland, to concert fresh plans with the King of France. What passed on this occasion with the Scottish Lords, will be seen in this and the accompanying Letter. He went, but returned no more: leaving an opening for quieter times than Scotland had recently known.

My Lorde pleas it your Grace to knowe that this present hour I am advertised by my secrete espiall out of Scotland that the Lordes of the same contynu-

[a] MS. Cotton. Calig. B. II. fol. 166.

[b] Uniformly *Jehan*, or *Jehan R.* Among numerous other instances the reader may refer to the Cottonian Manuscripts, Calig. B. III. foll. 43, 70, 74, 78, 143, 149, 178, 202; B. VI. foll. 91, 121, 122 b. Other Letters with the same signatures occur among Wolsey's papers in the Chapter House at Westminster.

eng to giddres all Witson Weke in Edinburghe were in the Tolbothe of the same Monday, Tewisday, Wednisday, and Thurysday laste paste in counseill, and there the Duke of Albany demanded of theim by his writing certein things articulerly as your Grace may perceive by theim, with the Lordes aunsweres ensewing; that is to saye

Furst the said Duke deasired thre monthes licence of the King and Lordes to th'intent in that tyme he mought departe in France and retorne in Scotland again for certain considerations moving the King and Wele of Scotland, specially for the making of provision for the defence and susteignyng of the Warres anempt and against the Kings Highnes our Soveraign Lorde and his realme, and to knowe what the Frenche Kings parte shulde be, to the supple of Scotlande; and to that effect deasired a Commission with Servants of the Kings to passe with hym in Fraunce for his aunswere, good counseill, and supple to be had and knowen towards Scotlande.

The Lordes aunswered sayeing it was not tyme now for hym to remeve furth of the Realme, remembring the grete damagies that the realme and pore subjects had susteigned in his absence past, and considering that towards the King and Realme apperauntt grete warres, and also, as they were advertised, the Realme by all lyklyhode wolde in shorte tyme be preserved by

the Kings Highnes our soverain Lorde and his realme, and seing the King now at nonage, and he having governaunce of his Realme, it were not his honor to be absent fro the defence of it. He aunswered and said he had suche secrete busynes to do with the Frenche King concernyng the same that he must nedes in his owne person speke with hym. The Lordes hering the same, graunted hym the said licence with a commission to oon Maister David Beton, a clerke, and a harrolde, to departe with hym in Fraunce; which thre persones ar delivered with powier and departed with him accordingly.

Secundely the Duke desired the bande that was maide in Rowane[a] by the bishop of Dunkelde, the secretary, and the bushop of Ross to be kept by the King and the Lordes to the Frenche King, and no peas to be takin with this Realme of Inglande during the time of his licence; and further in his absens, without the advice of the French Kyng and hym.

The Lordes aunswered that the bande made in Rowane[a] they were contented shulde be kept, so that the Frenche King wolde in the mean season kepe the bande maide to the King of Scotts; and in likewise the lordes of Scotlande ar contented to contynew the warre enduring his licence, and further, unto they had the Frenche Kings advice, except that the King's

[a] Rouen.

Highnes our Soverain lorde be his maigne power in the mean season fortuned to invade and pursue Scotland, whiche Scotland were not able to resiste, that then he being absent, (of force) they must neds take peas with our said Soverain and his Realme.

Thirdly the Duke desired the Quene and the Lordes to holde the King in the Castell of Strivelying, and boundes divised for hym afore, to his retorne in Scotland again, binding the Quene neither to confederate with the Kings Highnes our said Soverain lorde nor to consent to peas.

To the which deasires the Quene denyed hym in a parte, saing if he yode awaye she must neds do for her self: and inlikewise the lordes said, promising to do their best to cause hym kepe in, so farr as they might solicite hym.

Fourthly the Duke deasired that Grisels, a Frenchman, his servant, might remaine in Scotland as Treasourer of the same, having th'auctoritye of his office whiles his retorne again in Scotlande, and nothing to be done or consented unto in any greate mattiers unto they had his advice.

The Lordes aunswered, saing, what servant so ever he pleased to leif theim shulde be welcum, but they thought not suche a man mete for that office.

Fiftly the Duke deasired that the Quene shulde be obeyed in all her rights.

The Lordes aunswered and said the pleasure and service that they might do shulde be at her commandement.

Sextly and laste of all the Duke deasired to have and borrow of the Lordes forty thousand Crownes of the Son[a] to furnishe hym certein wages, and for the furnishing of his Shippes, and he to deliver the same again to the merchands of Scotlande in the Towne of Deipe[b].

The Lordes maide aunswer herunto they coude not make hym any siche som of money: and said, if he wold remaigne with them to the suppleying of the warres, thay shulde ware with hym their bodies and goodes.

Wherupon the same Duke having all the Lordes afore hym on Fridaye last paste tooke leve of theim and rode that night to Lithguo[c]: on Satturday to Stryveling, and there remaigned Sondaye, taking his leif of the King and Quene: and determined to be in Glasgue yesterdaye: and this Tewisday to Dumbretain, where as he wol take shippe if the wynde wol serve hym.

Immediatly aftre he be entred ship, and sailed out of sight frome Dumbretayn, I am promised to be surely and diligently advertised therof; and if there be any retorne of hym your Grace shalbe certefied ac-

[a] *Ecus du Soleil.* They were originally coined by Louis XIth. of France. Their name was derived from the mintmark of a Sun. They were current in England, and probably in Scotland by weight.

[b] Dieppe. [c] Linlithgow.

cordingly, God willing, who preserve your Grace. At Whittingham this last daye of May at iij. of the clok in the mornyng.

Yowrs to hyes[a] serves

THOMAS DACRE.

To my Lord Legats Grace.

LETTER LXXXVI.

Lord Dacre to Cardinal Wolsey in continuation of the former Letter.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. B. II. fol. 376. *Orig.*]

My Lord, pleas it your Grace to be ascerteyned, according to my former advertisements made unto your Grace of the Duc of Albanies departure out of Scotland; so it was at his said departure the Lordes of Scotland and he did not aggre verey well: for his intente and purpose was to have gone with a certein nombre unto the Isle of Man, and had viteilled his shippes and made all other provisions for the same accordingly. And whan it came to the poincte of his departing, all those that had promised to go with hym satt downe and refused the Jorney. Albeit of trouthe, the lordes of Scotland ar strately bounde and sworne to stik still at the said Duks opynyon and the League

[a] his.

of France unto the laste daye of Auguste next comyng, at which daye he hath promised to retorne into Scotland; and, if he fale therof, he shalbe clerely exempted from all his auctoritie in Scotland. And I am surely enformed that the said Lordes of Scotland woll kepe their promisse to the said Duc, and nothing do contrary the same for the tyme, except it be by force and compulsion. Albeit I am inlikewise enformed, and verely truste, that if it so fortune that the said Duc breke his promisse, and cum not again at his appoincted daye, the said Lordes and counseill of Scotland woll not onely leave his wayes, and exclude hym clerely from all his auctoritie which he hath in Scotland, but also semblably provide so that they may have peax with the Kings Highnes by their owne meanes; and geve over all bands, leages, and promises that are confermed betwene theim and the Frenche King.

Wherfore seyng that the said lords of Scotland woll make persuyte to the King's Highnes for peax or treux now in the Ducs absence, without it be for a surceace of warre to be taken betwixt the wardeins upon the Bordors for a season, (which is only for their and the Duks commoditie,) right necessarie and requisite it is that the Kings Highnes and your Grace devise a substanciall order what is beste to be done for their annoyance now in the moste commodious tyme of the yere: for, according as I have declared unto your Grace in my former writings, it is but small exployt

that I can do with the nombre of men that lie now here in garnyson, remembring how the Bordors of Scotland have bene contynually destroyed sens the warres beganne. So that there is no rode that can be made upon the said Bordors with so small a nombre to the Kings honor. Howbeit I assure your Grace, for it that we might do, I have holden them in quik occupation, making of excourses contynually. And for proif that the frontors of the Bordors of Scotland ar in maner destroyed, now lately the viijth day of this present monthe Sir William Evre lieutenant of the Middill Merchies, accumpanied with one thousand men and moo, made a Jorney into Scotland, and did verey well, and seased and brought awey above viij^{c} nowte[a] with many horses and othr catall, as shepe, and gate to a great nombre, and miche insight, which I assure your Grace they did fetche xvj. myles within the grounde of Scotland. And in likewise my son, and my broder Sir Cristofer Dacre (accumpanied with a parte of the Weste marchies) the same tyme made an oder Jorney into Scotland, and there seased and gat nigh upon a thousand nowte[a], and miche oder catall, whiche they did fetche xx. myles within the grounde of Scotland. And so your Grace may perceive that it is litill that we can do but only kepe the Bordors from excourses, though the Kings Highnes be at grete charge; seing that litill or nothinge is lefte upon the

[a] neat.

frontors of Scotland without it be parte of ald [a] Howses wherof the thak [b] and covereings ar taken awey, bireason wherof they cannot be brint [c] as my lord Treasurer can shew your Grace. And therefore under correction of your Grace if it be the Kings pleasure and Yours (as I trust it is) that sharp warre be made upon Scotland, provision must be made for the same now in tyme; and not only the number of five or six thousand men to be putt in arredines as nighehande the Bordors as may be conveniently, to cum forward at diverse tymes whan they shalbe called upon, for making of certen grete rodes; and alwey, after a grete rode made to have wagies for that tyme only and to departe, and retorne to an order as they shalbe called upon; but also ordinance and horses to drawe the same with all oder necessaries therunto belonging to be made redy accordingly. For surely to dryve the tyme as we do, leving in defense, and doing but small hurt to the Kings enemyes, it is nothing to the honor of his Highnes, and far lesse to his prouffite as your Grace may well perceive. And if the Kings Highnes and your Grace woll not take this ordre, or othr like ordre, for oppressing of the said Scotts, then (under your Grace's correction) best it is that a surcease of Werre be taken by the wardeins for a season, which I am sure the Lordes of Scotland woll specially deasire, because it is for their owne commoditie, and after

[a] old. [b] thatch. [c] burnt.

that, I trust, the Chauncellare of Scotlande (with whome the Duc hath left his hole auctoritie) wolde be contented to mete at the bordors any honorable person that the King's Highnes and your Grace wold appointe, for to common and speke of peax and tranquillitie to be had betwene thes two realmes, whereunto he hath alwey allegied that he is right well affectionate and mynded. And if a surceace of werre were taken wherby that the bordors of Scotland might be plenisshed, and the estats of the realme gete prouffite (which they now lak), percaase they shuld fynde it so swete that they wold be wel advised or they brak again aithr for the pleasour of the Frenche King, the Duc of Albany, or of any oder. As knoweth the Holy Trinite who preserve Your Grace. At Hexham the xj.th day of Junii.

Yowrs with hys serves

THOMAS DACRE.

With this Letter we take our leave of the exploits of Thomas Lord Dacre. His death was announced to Wolsey in a Letter from Henry Clifford Earl of Cumberland, dated from the Castle of Skipton Nov. 14th 1525, in the following words: "It hath pleased Almighty God to call Lord Dacre to his mercy."[a]

[a] MS. Cotton. Calig. B. VII. fol. 59.

LETTER LXXXVII.

King James the Fifth of Scotland to King Henry the Eighth.

[MS. COTTON. VESP. F. III. fol. 36 b. *Orig.*]

*** The promotion of Gawin Dunbar prior of Whithern to the archbishopric of Glasgow, mentioned in this Letter, fixes its date to the year 1524. The procuring of a papal bull for this promotion, was one of the last acts of the Duke of Albany's power.

The following Account of King James the Fifth's person and manners, in this very year, transmitted to Wolsey by Dr. Magnus and Roger Radclyff the then ambassadors to Scotland, will form no inappropriate introduction to a specimen of his talent at writing. James the Fifth was then in his thirteenth year. The Letter is dated from Edinburgh Nov. 15th 1524:

"Nowe all things procede more plesauntly thenne thay did afore, by reason of our poor suts moste humbly made to the quenes Grace litle touching any matter for this tyme contrarious to her pleasure. Insomuch that the quenes saide grace hath had us forth to solace with the Kings Grace here at Leeth, and in the feildes, and to see his saide Grace stirre his horses, and renne with a spere amongys other his Lordes and servaunts at a gloove; and also by the quenes procuring we have seen his saide Grace use hymselff otherwise pleasantely booth in singing and dansing, and shewing familiaritye amongs his lordes. All whiche his princely acts and doings be soe excellent for his age, not yet xiij. yeres till Easter next, that in our opynyons it is not possible thay shulde be amended. And myche more it is to our comforte to see and conceive that in personage, favor, and countenance, and in all other his procedings his Grace resembleth very myche to the Kings Highnes our maister. And over this his said Grace hath with the moste pleasaunte and moste loving countenaunce shewed unto us both that myche it pleaseth his Grace to see and here of the good manners of Englande, and myche it displeaseth hym to see his subjects to exercise or use the facions and manners of Fraunce. And we, being present, sawe and herde his saide Grace reprove one of his owne servaunts for the same cause." [a]

DERREST vncle We recommend vs to zow in our mayst hartly maner, and hais rasavit zour wrytyngs

[a] MS. Cotton. Calig. B. VI. fol. 332.

be zour trast counsellor maister Magnus, and by the sammyn wrytyngs and als' hys credens, We vnderstand the perfyt loyf[a] ze beyr on to vs, quhayrfor we sal stand to zow as ane troyst and goud newo[b] suld do. Derrest Oncle we pray zow hartly ze be not be zour wrytyngs to the Paypis halynes aganys the archebyschop of Glasgw, the quhylk was our preceptor and servitor, and als ramanis daly on our parson, bott o^r^. rar.[c] support, and help hym anet' the preveleg' of hys kyrk of Glasgw for my sayk. Howbeyt the archebyshop of Sanctandros wyl wryt and hays wrytyn to zo^r^ grace aganys hys exempcion, for I loyf Glasgw quhylk is my servand bettyr, as wyl schaw M. Magnus; and God haue zo^r^ grace in hys kepyng. At Edynburgh the xxviij. day of May, w^t^ my awyn hand

Zo^r^ Nepho

JAMES R.

LETTER LXXXVIII.

Sir Thomas More to Cardinal Wolsey. A. D. 1524.

[MS. COTTON. GALBA B. VIII. fol. 132. *Orig.*]

*** The dialogue which Sir Thomas More details in this Letter, between King Henry the Eighth and himself, is highly characteristic. John Joachim, mentioned in it, was Giovanni Joacchino Pessano, a Genoese; afterwards called Seigneur de Vaux. He was originally a merchant whom

[a] love. [b] nephew. [c] or rather?

Francis the first selected, when in the camp before Pavia, to come to England to negotiate a Peace. See Singer's edition of Cavendish's Life of Wolsey, p. 73. But the most curious part of this Letter is probably that in which Wolsey's opinion is declared upon the passing of Mount Cenis by Francis the First, and his operations in the Milanese.

HIT may lyke your good Grace to be advertised that yisternyght at my cummyng un to the Kings Graces presence, after that I had made your Graces recommendations and his Highnes shewed hym selfe very greatly glad and joyfull of your Graces helthe, as I was abowte to declare ferther to his Grace what lettres I had brought, his Highnes, perceiving Lettres in my hand, prevented me ere I could bygyn, and saied "Ah "ye have lettres nowe by John Joachym, and I trow "sum resolution what they will do." "Nay veryly Sir" quoth I "My lord hath yit no word by John Joachim "nor John Joachim as far as my Lord knew had yit no "worde hym selfe this day in the mornyng whan I "departed from his Grace." "No had" quoth he, "I mych mervaile therof, for John Joachim had a ser-"vaunt come to hym two dayes agoo." "Sir," quoth I, "if hit lyke your Grace, this mornyng my Lords "Grace had no thing herd therof; for yisterday his "Grace at after none dispeched me to your Grace with "a Lettre sent from Mr Doctor Knyght, and the same "nyght late, his Grace sent a servaunt of his to myn "howse and commaunded me to be with his Grace this "mornyng by eight of the clokke, where at my cum-

" myng he delivered me these other lettres and adver-
" tisements sent un to hym fro Mr Pace commanding
" me that after that your Highnes had seene theym I
" shold remitte theym to hym with diligence, as well
" for that he wold shew theym to other of your Graces
" counsaile, as also to John Joachym, for the contents
" be such as will do hym litle pleasure." " Mary"
quoth his Grace " I am well a paied therof," and so
he fell in meryly to the redyng of the Lettres of Maister Pace, and all the other abstracts and wrytyngs wherof the contents as highly contented hym as eny tidings that I have sene cum to hym; and thanked your Grace moost hartely for your good and spedy advertisement; and furthwithe he declared the newes and every materiall point which vppon the reding his Grace well noted un to the Quenys Grace and all other abowt hym, who were mervelouse glad to here it. And the Quenys Grace saied that she was glad that the Spanyerds had yit done somwhat in Italy in recompence of their departure owt of Province. I shewed his Highnes that your Grace thought that the French King passed the mountaignys in hope to wynne all with a visage in Italy, and to fynd there no resistence: and his sodayn cummyng uppon mych abashed the cuntrees, putting eche quarter in dowt of other and owt of suertie who myght be well trusted; but now sith he fyndeth it otherwise, myssyng the helpe of money which he hoped to have had in Mylleyn; fyndyng his

enemyes strong, and the fortressis well manned and furnyshed; and at Pavia, by th'expugnation wherof he thought to put all the remanant in fere and drede, being now twyes rejected w^t losse and reproche, his estimation shall so decay, and his friends fail, his enemyes confermed and encoraged, namely such aide of th'Almaignes of new joynyng with theym that lyke as the French King byfore wrote and bosted un to his mother that he had of his awne mynd passed in to Italy, so is it lykly that she shall have shortly cause to wryte agayn to hym that it had be mych bettre and more wisedome for hym to abide at home than to put hym selfe there, where as he standeth in great parell whither ever he shall gete thense. The King's Grace lawghed and said that he thinketh it wilbe very hard for hym to gete thense. And that he thinketh the maters going thus, the Popis Holynes will not be hasty neither in Peace nor Treuix.

Uppon the redyng of Mr Knyghts lettre his Grace saied not mych, but that if Bewreyn cum to his Grace he wilbe playne with hym. And if he do not, but take his Dispache there of your Grace, which thyng I perceive his Highnes wold be well content he did, excepte he desire to cum to his presence, his Grace requyreth yours so to talke with hym as he may know that his Grace and yours well perceive how the maters be handeled by themperors agents in th'enterprice.

The Kings Grace is very glad that the maters of

Scotland be in so good trayne, and wold be loth that they were now ruffled by th'erle of Angwishe. And mych his Highnes alloweth the mooste prudent mynde of your Grace, myndyng to use th'erle of Angwish for an instrument to wryng and wreste the maters in to bettre trayne if they walke a wrye and not to wrestle with theym and breke theym whan they goo right.

Hit may lyke your Grace also to be advertisede that I moved his Grace concernyng the suit of M^r^. Broke in such wise as your Grace declared un to me your pleasure when M^r^. Broke and I were with your Grace on Soneday. And his Grace answered me that he wold take a breth therin, and that he wold fyrst onys speke with the yong man; and than his Grace departed. But I perceived by his Grace that he had taken the yong mannys promise not to marry without his advise, bycause his Grace entended to mary hym to some one of the Queny's maidens. Iff it wold lyke your good Grace, in eny lettre which it shold please your Grace here after to write hither, to make some mention and rememberance of that mater, I trust it wold take good effecte. And thus our Lord long preserve your good Grace in honor and helth. At Hertford the xxix^th^ day of Novembre.

Your Gracis humble orator and
moost bounden beedman

THOMAS MORE.

"To my Lord Legatts good
Grace."

LETTER LXXXIX.

The Archduke Ferdinand of Austria to King Henry the Eighth announcing the Victory of Pavia. A. D. 1525.

[MS. COTTON. GALBA B. VIII. fol. 139 b. *Orig.*]

*** Ferdinand of Austria, the writer of the following Letter, was the brother of Charles the Fifth. He had been so far favoured by Henry as to be admitted into the Order of the Garter in 1522. In 1527, he was elected King of Hungary and Bohemia, the former of which Kingdoms was afterwards in part wrested from him. In 1531 he was chosen King of the Romans; and succeeded his brother in the Empire in 1556.

SERENISSIME Princeps et Rex, domine et avuncule noster colendissime, salutem et commendationem. Significamus Serenitati vestræ quatenus die 24 Mensis, hora 18 moris Italiæ [a], in loco Sancti Angeli prope Papiam factus est Conflictus inter exercitus Cæsareæ Majestatis domini et fratris nostri colendissimi, et Regis Franciæ, adeo ut omnipotentis Dei auxilio et clementia Victoria Cæsareæ Majestatis fuit, et Rex Franciæ fuit captus a domino de La Noia magistro Domus

[a] The *mos Italiæ* here mentioned as to the hour of the battle, deserves a short comment. The commencement of the civil or calendar day differs with different nations. We, and most Europeans, begin it at midnight; so did the ancient Egyptians, and the Romans after Julius Cæsar. Before Cæsar's time the Romans reckoned their day from sun-set, as the Italians do at present, with the Jews, the Chinese, the Arabians, the Athenians, the ancient Germans, the Galli and the present Bohemians. The Babylonians, Syrians, Persians, and most of the Oriental nations, the modern Greeks, and the inhabitants of the Balearic Islands, make the morning or sun-rise the beginning of their day. Astronomers commence it from noon. So did the ancient Umbrians.

To reduce the Italian hours with accuracy to our calculation, it is necessary to know the length of the natural day at the particular season. The battle of Pavia took place on the 24th. of February; and the eighteenth hour would probably correspond with about eleven o'clock before noon of our reckoning.

domini de Borbon, et interfecta fuerunt ad quatuordecim millia Gallorum, ut latius Serenitas vestra a muneris latore intelliget, quæ bona nova Serenitati vestræ significanda duximus, et agimus gratias omnipotenti Deo; Serenitatemque vestram bene valere optamus. Dat. Innsprughe die 26 Februarii, 1525.

Professor Robertson has devoted a few sentences of his Reign of Charles the Fifth, to the effects of the Victory at Pavia on Henry the Eighth. The capricious Henry, from views of self-advantage, had rendered great assistance to Charles's ambition; never dreaming of any event so decisive or so fatal as that memorable battle, which while it annihilated the power of Francis, destroyed the proper balance of the States of Europe; a balance to which, at that time, England owed much of her importance, and Italy the whole of her security.

John Clerc, bishop of Bath and Wells, the English minister at Rome, upon the first news of this battle, before he had received details, wrote immediately to Wolsey. Though his letter must have arrived much later than the official despatch of Ferdinand. It is dated from Rome, Feb. 28th.[a] He speaks of the "conflict between the Emperor's camp and the French Kings, and how that, lauded be God, the victory remained on the Emperor's side," which he only knew he says, "by sundrye letters telling sundry tales, as wryten by men being rather in confusion, and in some trouble themselves, than having any great leisure to write." Much of the remainder of his letter is filled with details of the effect of this battle upon Italy. "I assure your Grace that ther be manye here right glad of the French mennys overthrowe, but on the other syde they be all right sorry to be left thus in prey of the Spanyards, people surely for their cruell demeanor most hatyd of all nations; and by cause the only stay and brydell of their insolence is nowe notyd to be in the Kyngs hands, your Grace wil not beleve what an expectation is here of his Highnes, in whome nowe is all their hope and comfort. And surelye if they dyd nott hope verelye that the Kings Highnes, by his wiss and pollytyke handelyng, the Spanyard shold somewhat be stayd, the powars of Italy, with the Pope, wold nott fayll but gather themselves and do as well as they could for their defence tyll God shold otherwise provyde."

In a postscript he adds "We have word assuryd that the Frenshe Kyng is takyn, and with hym an infynyte nomber off all his nobilitie, and amongst

[a] MS. Cotton. Vitell. B. VII. fol. 66.

theym the Kyng of Navar, and la Rosa blanche as I trow Edmund de la Pole his brother, whom they call King of Scottis for to make up the Trynite of Kings takyn in this fyld to their great glory[a]. Ther is slayn the Grand Mastre, th'Admiral, La Tremoy la Palyce, Daubony, De la Seu, and many mo of his nobles; and none of his nobles in a manner but other takyn, or slayn, or drownyd. The Frenshe Kyng was takyn in flyght foure myles from the place where his campe was. He is now in the castell of Cremona. He yelded himself to the Emperor, and was taken by the Viceroy."

Sir John Russell in a Letter from Milan of the 11th. of March, says "The Spaniardes, after the battle wonne, pursuyd and chased the Frenshemen almost a hundreth myles, killing and slaying them without merci."[b]

Dr Magnus writing to Wolsey from Edinburgh, March 31st. 1525, relates the effect which the defeat at Pavia had upon the Scottish court. He says "Coming to the presence of the Kings and the Quenes Grace at St. John's town, after most condigne salutation, I shewed in familiar manner the newes touching the overthrow of the French King and of all his army in Italy, and how the said King and the King of Navarre, with sundry other Princes and a great number of other estates and great Lords of France were taken prisoners, besides another number of them slayn in the field, and shewed their names as were ascertained to me from Mr. Brian Tuke, besides also a grete number of the commonalty both slayn and taken prisoners. Whiche news, albeit some notice of the same were had afore with light credence, came coldly to the knowledge of the herers in maner as a thing not possible. Howbeit, the matier better digested and remembred, some were right sory; some couth not conteyne, but braste forth thaire inward crewell cogitations; and some said thus the King of Englande can sitte at home and cause the King of France to be vanquished and subdued by his owne subjecte. I assure your Grace this matier is highly estemed in these parties, and myche dolor made by many that suppose they have lost their friends and kynnesfolkes. The young King was desirous to here the certaintie of this matier, but the Queen's Grace made noe maner demand thereof, neither she gave any congratulation for the same as far as I could conceive, or in any wise in truth come to my knowledge."

In another passage of this Letter he says the Chancellor and the Council of Scotland considered it differently:

"Hit is not to be doubted but the Lords and Noblemen of this Realme thinke myche by the overthrowe of the French King, specially as I perceive for the losse of their friendes and kynnesfolkes. And yet the said

[a] The King of Navarre, however, afterwards made his escape: and Richard De la Pole, who, as the representative of the House of York had assumed the appellation of *Blanche Rose* was among the slain upon the field.

[b] MS. Cotton. Vitell. B. VII. fol. 80.

Chauncelar taketh the matier very lightly, saying he hath no care of France, for Scotland in defence of the same have lost sundry their Kings with great nombre of their noble men to the distruction of their realm. And this oppynyon he saith that both he and the whole Counsaill here do kepe without feynnyng or dissimulation, thair honors saved for the discharging of their bandes and promises." [a]

LETTER XC.

Dr. Sampson to Cardinal Wolsey, on the news of the Victory of Pavia reaching Madrid.

[MS. COTTON. VESP. C. III. fol. 19. *Orig.*]

*** The reader will not now be displeased to have the conversation laid before him which passed between Charles the Fifth and the English ambassador at Madrid, upon the arrival of the news that Francis the First was taken prisoner. The moderation with which Charles heard of the success that had crowned his arms, was, for a short time the theme of universal admiration. Whether he felt or only assumed the virtue at first, seems problematical. One thing is certain; prosperity soon got the better of his mind. He laid aside his generosity at the time he lost his humility; and became as ambitious of conquest as any of those who had aimed at universal empire. The world has agreed to take him, young as he was, for a profound hypocrite.

PLEAS it your Grace the x. day off Marche be a currier, that passyd throw France be the Frence Kings salve conduict, com first the newis hithir that uppon Seynct Mathies day at Pavie anno 1524[b] the Frenche King was taken prisonner, with many othir noble men takyn and slayne. The sam day was th'emperor borne, *et jam complevit xxv.* I was the sam night with

[a] MS. Cotton. Calig. B. VII. fol. 3.

[b] 1524-5.

his Majestie *ut maxime gratularer huic insperatæ felicitati.* And afftir that I had spokyn not with many words, for as I seyd the newis ware of so great excellentie and joy os well to his Majestie os to his frends and all christyndom, that in no maner of wyse it was in me to expresse be words the worthy joyfullnesse and excellentie off it; with othir words os my litle discretion wold serve. Afftir that I had seyd, His Majestie fyrst aunsword that withowght fayle the newis ware very good and joyffull, and so his very hope was that such effect schuld folow with Godds helpe to his frends and all Christyndom. And iij. things causyd hym to have joy off this Victorie. Fyrst that it hath pleasyd God to gyve such a rare and singulier gyfft to hym, and theroff most humbly he thankyd God; for he a synnar off this worlde nevyr hath or schall [or] may deserve such a singulier goodnesse off God. Nevirthelesse trusting off the same goodnesse off God at all tyms to be his ledar and eydar, he intendith to employ his strenith and power that he hath receyvid off God in this worlde with most affection off mynde and diligence wher as he schall beleve to be his most pleasour and service. And this is the seconde thing that causith hym to be joyfull off this victorie, trusting that be the sam such a sure and universell peace schall folow to all christyndom that schall not oonly be to the quietnesse off the sam, and establissching off charitable love, wherwith God may be most pleasyd, but

also he with his frends be the reason of such unite and accorde schall may employ ther temporall forcis, as well to the defence and augmentation of Christis feith agenst the enemies off the sam os to the necessarie reformation off the sam body off Christis feith, repressing the abominable errors and ordering the othir great inconvenients. And here His Majestie sayde that he trusteth now ther schalbe som good occasion and oportunite that the King's Highnesse and he togethirs may employ ther travayles and pours in the service of God. Thridly His Majestie seyd that this Victorie was joyffull to hym, *tam amicorum quam inimicorum causa.* For he wold assurydly endevor hymsellff that this victorie might be to the profette off his frends rather then his own, ffor he assuryd me that he was nothing ambitios off more then he hath. And with humble words thanking God, he seyd that his dayly preyre is to have grace gevyn hym well to governe and ordre such possessions os he hath. And as towching his enemies they schall well perceyve that thow he schall have place, tym, and with Godds holpe puissance to revenge hym, yet knowleging all to be off Godd's hande and pleasour, his mynde is to use such moderation that in hym ther schalbe fownde no intent off crueltie or revengance. These vertuouse and singulier wyse words His Majestie usyd with such a grace in the speking off them, that, withowght fayle Sir, to here and perceyve in such a rare and excellente vic-

torie, his moderacion off gesture, cowntenance, and os it semyd allso off inwarde intente and mynde, thow that I was no lesse gladde of the victorie then many othir, yet much more gladde I was to perceyve the victorie in his hands that had the grace off such temporance and moderation; and so expressely I seyd to his Majestie. For I assure your Grace ther was no more semblance in hym of arrogantie or change off maniers to joy effusely owthir in worde or countenance then iff no such great thing had chaunsyd; but evyr in his words with humble visage referryd every thing to God, so thanking hym ffor the sam. Wherffor I compared His Majestie to hym that hath receyvid a great benefite off a nothir, that iff the gevar perceive much gratuite in the receyvar, he schall induce the gevar with much more desyre iff such occasion chaunce anothir tym to gyve hym a much greatar gyfft, especially iff the receyvar also use such a gyfft to the most pleasour off the gevar. And so his Majestie both knowleging with so good mynde this gyfft off victorie to have receyvid off God so well thanking hym ffor the sam, and allso intending to use the sam great and inestimable gyfft with such moderation to the most pleasour off the gevar, schall induce allmighty God of his goodnesse a nothir tym to gyve hym a much greater gyfft. His Majestie aunsword beseching God that he myght use it to his most pleasor. With thies, Sir, and dyvers othir good words in so great a thing to

have such singuler moderation, *nullo fastu, nulla arrogantia, nulla prorsus effusa ab indecenti leticia, aut vultu, aut gestu, aut verbo aliquo,* I think myselff more to have lernid, and much bettyr at all tymes to have moderation present and in good remembrance, then be all the lettirs, words, or bokis that evyr I have or schall rede. And not oonly he declaryd his moderate mynde be thes words to me, but well he schewid the same in all othir his demeanor now. For be oon off his pryvie chambre, and anothir great personage off singulier feith and credence, I know that immediatly afftir the fyrst knowlege off thes newis, sole he enteryd in to his pryvie chambre, and ther was a good space uppon his kneys, withought fayle geving thankis to God. And where os he was advyssid be som to make great triumphe ffor this victorie, expressly he commandyd that no such thing schuld be, syns it was agenst christyn men. But syns it hath ben Godds pleasor to gyve hym such a victorie, the next day with a generall procession he wold gyve oonly thankis to hym. The next day the generall procession off all the towne went to a chapell of our Lady, oon quartier of a myle withowght the towne, and thether went th'Emperor yn a cape of blakke frese withowght ony more semblance off triumphe. And at his departing owght off his chambre thithirwards, he seyd thes words, "now schall we goo to have a solempne Messe, giv-"ing thankis to God; and I wold that we schuld make

" it much more solempne with good inwarde devotion
" then with ony maner off owghtwarde pompe."

At this Messe a frier prechid uppon thes words " *laudamini nomen Dei vestri, quia fecit nobiscum mirabilia.*" And ffor the fyrst great marveyle in this worlde most to be estemyd, he beganne with the conception and incarnation off Christe; so passing to certeine marvelos victories off the Old Testamente; and for a conclusion estemyd this Victorie ffor no lesse marveyle.

Withowght ffayle, Sir, the lord chauncelier schowed me that in th'Emperors campe was no money; they dyede for hungre; the souldiers had no clothis; they ware in such extreme necessite that it was not possible to abyde it longar. And the sam night the Frenche King was advertyssed that th'Emperors campe was in armis the sam night to leve the fylde; wherffor the Frenche Kings campe was allso in armis to pursuye them in the wey, so that when they saw them entre with such a boldnesse whom they thowght to pursuyve flying, it was a great change, and no lesse marvayle. But it is writtin that the Marquise of Piskera fyrst gave this advyse, the which was well acceptyd off the Viceroy and Monsr. de Burbon, as they had extreme cause rathir to hasarde ther lyvis then to leve the Frenche King so victorios to ther utter ondoing. The great Mastre, who I beleve is os feithffully desyros to doo most acceptable pleasor and service to the Kings

Highnesse as ony straungier els lyving, schewed me that som advysed th'Emperor the next day to were some riche and fresche rayement ffor the demonstration off joy to his people. He sayd that in no manner off wyse he wold so doo, but iff he knew in what maner most humbly to demeane hym selff to gyve thankis to God, and to induce the people to the sam, withowght demonstration off pompe or immoderate joy, he wold folow that wey and means.

The next day afftir the procession, be cause the precher wold not sey it in his presence, the sam precher seyd in a nothir place where he prechid, that th'Emperor commandyd hym the day before to preche off this Victorie, referring every thing to the power and goodnesse off God, expressely charging that nowthir he schuld speke off ony preyse towching th'Emperor nor in eny maner off wyse off reproche agenst his enemie.

In summa, the Emperor hath usyd such demeanor in all maner off thingis, both be worde, deade, and cowntenance, and towards all maner off persons, that every wyse man hath ben most joyffull to see it *magna cum admiratione in ætate tam tenera.*

And Sir amongs othir many good words to me, he forgatt not to schew me off the singulier love that he hath fownde in the King's Highnesse, and evir trustith to fynde the sam. And in lyke maner the Kings Highnesse schall assurydly at all tyms know hym off

the sam feithffull mynde nevyr to fayle, os at all tyms he hath els promysid and seyd. His Majestie is allso very desyros to know from the King's Highnesse afftir this Victorie, os knowith our Lord, who preserve your Grace in most prosperos helth and honor. At Madryd the xv. day off Marche.

Your most humble bedeman

RICHARD SAMPSON.

To my Lorde Legate.

LETTER XCI.

Henry Duke of Richmond, natural son of K. Henry VIIIth. to Cardinal Wolsey.

[MS. COTTON. VESP. F. III. fol. 18 b. *Orig.*]

*** From this Letter we learn one fact which is not chronicled elsewhere, that Cardinal Wolsey stood godfather to the acknowledged natural son of Henry the Eighth.

Henry, for so the King chose he should be named, was born in 1519; according to Sandford at Blackmore in Essex[a]. His mother, then lady Elizabeth Tailboys, was afterwards married to Edward Lord Clinton. Hall describes her as a fair damsel, who kept Henry in the chains of love as much by her accomplishments as by her beauty. The child, he says, partook of both their beauties.

For want of male issue in the earlier and middle part of his reign, the affections of Henry the Eighth were strongly fixed upon this boy: he was brought up, to use the words of Hall, like a Prince's child, chiefly at Windsor; where the companion of his education from his first infancy was the accomplished Earl of Surrey. In 1525, when little more than six years old, the King made him a knight of the Garter, and called him LORD HENRY FITZROY; creating him, on the 18th. of June in that year, Earl of Nottingham, and Duke of Richmond and Somerset: Wolsey at the same

[a] Sandf. Genealog. Hist. ex Coll. Gl. e.

time establishing for him a Household suitable to his rank [a]. In 1532, still accompanied by Lord Surrey, he went to Paris to finish his studies; and joined Henry and Francis the First, that year, at their second Interview. Upon his return he obtained the King's consent to marry Surrey's sister.

From this time we hear little more of him, except that he, with the Duke of Suffolk, Cromwell, and Sir Thomas Audeley, were upon the scaffold when Anne Boleyn was beheaded.

He died at St. James's, according to Holinshed July 22d, according to others on the 24th of July, 1536; when he had scarcely attained the age of seventeen. He left no issue[b].

It may not be irrelevant to remark, that the creation of the Duke of Richmond and Somerset by Henry the Eighth, evidently formed the precedent for Charles the Second to crowd the highest rank of the peerage with his natural children. Henry, however, never thought of making his mistresses Duchesses. The surname of FITZROY was first given by King John to Geoffrey his second natural son[c].

PLEAS yt youre Grace to bee advertised that at thys tyme I do write unto the same not oonly to make a demonstracion off thys my proceding in writinge, but also in my right humble and lowly wise to beseche youre Grace off youre dayly blissynge and pardone, for that I have soo longe tyme delayed and forborne to write unto youre Grace, to whos favoure and goodnes no creature living ys more bounde thene I am. And like as it hathe pleased almightie God and the Kings Highnes, moche parte by the meanes and good favoure off youre Grace, to preferre and advance me in honor, so shal I (God willinge) endevor my selffe and applie my tyme for th'attaynyng and encreas off lernynge, vertue, and cunninge, correspondente to the

[a] The details will be found in MS. Harl. 589. fol. 192.

[b] See Lord Herbert, p. 175. Dugd. Baron. tom. ii. p. 305. Hall, edit. 1809. p. 712. Holinsh. edit. 1808. vol. iii. p. 798.

[c] See Sandford Genealog. Hist. p. 86.

same, wherby I may be more able to do unto the Kingis highnes suche service hereafter as shal consiste with his mooste gracious pleasure, wiche off all thyng under God, is and shalbe my oonly myende, entent, and purpoos; as maistir Magnus thys berer, Director off my Counsaill shall make relacion unto youre grace, whome Almightie God evermore have in his mooste hoolie and blissid tuycion and governance. At Shireff Hutton the fourthe daye off Marche by youre moste humble Godsonne.

H. RYCHEMOND.

LETTER XCII.

King Henry the Eighth to Cardinal Wolsey.

[MS. COTTON. VESP. F. XIII. fol. 71. *Orig.*]

MYNE awne good Cardinall, I recomande me unto you with all my hart, and thanke yow for the grette payne and labour that yow do dayly take in my bysynes and maters, desyryng yow (that wen yow have well establyshyd them) to take summe pastyme and comfort, to the intent yow may the longer endure to serve us; for allways payne can nott be induryd. Surly yow have so substancyally orderyd oure maters bothe off thys syde the See and byonde that in myne oppynyon lityll or nothyng can be addyd; nevertheles, accord-

yng to your desyre, I do send yow myne oppynyon by thys berar, the refformacion whereoff I do remytte to yow and the remnante off our trusty consellers, whyche I am sure wyll substantyally loke on hyt. As tochyng the mater that Syr Wyllyam Says broght answar off, I am well contentyd with what order so ever yow do take in itt. The Quene my wyff hath desyryd me to make har most harty recommendations to yow, as to hym that she lovethe very well, and both she and I wolde knowe fayne when yow wyll repayre to us. No more to yow att thys tyme bot that with God's helpe I trust we shall dysspoynte oure enymys off theyre intendyd purpose. Wryttyn with the hand of your lovyng master

HENRY, R.

To
My Lorde Cardinall.

LETTER XCIII.

The Council for the Household of the Lady Mary to Cardinal Wolsey.

[MS. COTTON. VESP. F. XIII. fol. 134. *Orig.*]

*** In this Letter the Reader is reminded of the long train of sports and merriment which formerly made Christmas so cheerful to our ancestors.

It was in 1525, in the 17th year of Henry the Eighth, that Cardinal Wolsey, at the same time that he established a household for the young Duke of Richmond, "ordained a Council" says Hall, "and stablished another Household for the LADY MARY, then being *Princess of the Realm*."

The circumstance of the Council's inquiring what they were to do, seems to fix the date of the Letter, at once, to the very year in which the Household was established.

PLEASE it youre grace for the great repaire of straungers supposed unto the Pryncesse honorable householde this solempne fest of Cristmas, We humbly beseche the same to let us knowe youre gracious pleasure concernyng aswell a ship of silver for the almes disshe requysite for her high estate, and spice plats, as also for trumpetts and a rebek to be sent, and whither we shall appoynte any Lord of Mysrule for the said honorable householde, provide for enterluds, disgysyngs, or pleyes in the said fest, or for banket on twelf nyght. And in likewise whither the Pryncesse shall sende any newe yeres gifts to the Kinge, the Quene, your Grace, and the Frensshe quene, and of the value and devise of the same. Besechyng youre grace also to pardon oure busy and importunate suts to the same in suche behalf made. Thus oure right syngler good lorde We pray the holy Trynyte have you in his holy preservacion. At Teoxbury the xxvij day of November

Youre humble orators

JOHN EXON.
JEILEZ GREVILE.
PETER BURNELL.
JOHN SALTER.
G. BROMLEY.
THOMAS AUDELEY.

To the most reverent Father in God the Lord Cardinall his good Grace.

No record is preserved of the answer which was returned to this Letter; but that the Cardinal allowed the sports of Christmas to be played is more than probable. A Book of the Expences of the Lady Mary's Household in various years from the 28th. to the 36th. of Henry the Eighth is still remaining among the Royal Manuscripts in the British Museum; a few entries in which bear upon the question.

In the 28th. of Henry VIIIth.

"Mens. Decemb. Delivered at Richemount to my Lady's Grace for playeng at the Cards, vj. Angels:" amounting to xlv. shillings.

"Item given to the Children of the Chapell on Cristmas Day, xs.

"Item, delyvered to hir Grace upon Cristmas Even and Cristmas Daye for to have in her purse iiijll.

"Item geven to my Lady's Grace for a mynstrell vs.

"Item geven to my Lord Privey Seale's servaunte;" here the lady Mary has added in her own hand "for bryngyng hys newyer's gift, iij Angeles."

Of New Years Gifts, none are specified which were sent by the Lady Mary; but only those which were presented to her. The following occur in the 34th. of Henry the Eighth: a little tablet of gold from the Prince; a little chain, and a pair of hose wrought in gold and silk from the Princess Elizabeth; a gown of carnation satin of the Venice fashion, from my Lady Margaret; a wrought smock from Lady Frances Dorset; a pepper box of silver gilt, from Lady Butler; a book from Lord Morley; a diamond ring from the Earl of Hertford; a fair steel glass from three Venetians; a hat from Dr. Augustine; and a pair of silver snuffers from Mr. Hobbs. The rewards, which were made in money, to the servants who brought these, amounted to no inconsiderable sum.

Of various other entries, in different years, the following are perhaps the most curious:

"Item, geven to the Nurce and the Mydwife of Sir Harry Parker's wife, my Lady's Grace being godmother to her childe, xvs.

"Item, geven to a pore man toward his marriage at the request of Mr. Tirell, iijs. ixd.

"Item, geven to one comyng from London for mending of my Lady's Grace Virgynalls, vs.

"Item, delyvered to my Lady's Grace on Candlemas daye to put in hir taper iij. half-angeles: xs. iijd.

"Item, payed to Charles Morley for bowes, arowes, a quyver, with other thinges for my Lady's Grace, xijs. xd.

"Item, payd for the hyre of a barge for Doctor Mychaell and Mr. John poticary, comyng to my lady's Grace beyng sicke, vijs. vjd.

"Item, payed for silver to embraudre a Box for my lady Elizabeth grace, xijs.

"Item, geven to George Mountejoye drawing my Ladye's Grace to his Valentine, xls.

"Item, geven amongs the yeomen of the King's guard bringing a Leke to my Lady's Grace on Saynt David's day xv^{s}.

"Item, geven to one of the late Qwenes palfrey men attending with ij. palfreys upon my Lady's Grace from Richemount to Hampton Court and home agayne, v^{s}.

"Item, geven to Heywood playeng an enterlude with his children before my Lady's Grace, xl^{s}.

"Item, payed for a yerde and a halfe of damaske for Jane the fole, vij^{s}.

"Item, for shaving of Jane fooles hedde, iiij^{d}.

"Payed for a frountlet loste in a wager to my Lady Margaret, iiij^{li}.

"Item, payed for a brekefast loste at bolling by my Lady Mary's Grace, x^{s}.

"Item, payed for one pounde and a halfe of gold, for embrawdering of a night gown, lx^{s}.

"Item, payed for a boye of M^{r}. Launder, for his costs at scole, and bynding him prentise, lv^{s}.

"Item, geven to Christofer the surgion comyng from London to Tittenhanger, to lett my Lady's Grace blodde, xxij^{s}. vj^{d}."

There is yet one passage in the Council's Letter which requires a brief comment. It relates to the appointment of a Lord of Misrule. "In the feaste of Christmas," says Stow, "there was in the King's House, wheresoever he was lodged, a LORD OF MISRULE, or master of merry disports: and the like had ye in the House of every nobleman of honor or good worship, were he spiritual or temporal" "These Lordes beginning their rule on Alhollow eve, continued the same till the morrow after the feast of the Purification commonly called Candlemas day: in all which space there were fine and subtle disguisyngs, maskes, and mummeries, with playing at cards for counters, nails, and points in every House, more for pastimes than for game."

In the Archæologia of the Society of Antiquaries, vol. xviii. p. 313, are some Observations on the Christmas diversions formerly given by the Lord of Misrule, and on the King's Office of Revels and Tents; chiefly from Papers preserved at Losely near Guildford; by William Bray Esqr. followed by a Copy of an Appointment of a Lord of Misrule. This Office of Revel Master appears to have been retained longer in our Inns of Court than any where.

Other countries, as well as England, had their Lord of Misrule. In Scotland he was called the Abbat of Unreason, in France the Abbé de Malgouverné and Abbé de Leisse.

In Scotland the performance of this character was prohibited by Act of Parliament in 1555. See Jamieson's Etymological Dictionary in *v.* ABBOT.

LETTER XCIV.

Queen Catharine of Arragon and King Henry the Eighth to Cardinal Wolsey; a Joint-Letter. A. D. 1527.

[MS. COTTON. VITELL. B. XII. fol. 4. *Orig.*]

*** The mutilated joint-letter now presented to the Reader, is one of the most curious fragments which these volumes will preserve. The first part forms a Note from the Queen, anxious for the coming of Campegius, stedfast in the hope that her cause would be affirmed, and kind and caressing to Wolsey. It is entirely in Catharine's hand-writing; but breaks off abruptly; Henry the Eighth having consented to her importunity, and taken up the pen to finish it.

Here we have another added to the many proofs already known, that, whatever were Henry's scruples really, however blinded by lust, or determined to get rid of Catharine, his heart respected her.

My Lord in my moste humblyst wys that my hart can thinke . . . . me that I am so bold to troubyl you with my sympyl . . . . . ytt to prosed from her that is muche desirus to kno . . . . . I paersave be this berar that you do; the wiche I . . . . . as I am moste bonde to pray, for I do know the g . . . . . you have taken for me bothe day and nyght . . . . . my part but allonly in loveng you next on to the . . . . . creatures leveng and I do not dought but the . . . . . shall manefestly declaer and aferme my Wryte . . . . . trust you do thynke the same. My Lord I do assure y . . . . . from you som neues of the Legat, for I do hope and . . .

. . . . . shall be very good, and I am seur that you deseyre . . . . . and more and ytt waer possibel as I knowe ytt ys not . . . . . In a stedfast hope I make a nend of my lettar . . . . . of her that is moste bounde to be

Here Queen Catharine's part ends, the rest is in the hand-writing of Henry the Eighth.

THE wrytter off thys Letter wolde nott cease tyll she had . . . . . to sett to my hand, desyryng yow thowght it be short to t . . . . . I ensure yow ther is nother off us but that grettly desiry . . . . . muche more reioyse to here that you have scapyd thys plage . . . . . the fury theroff to be passyd, specyally with them that k . . . . . as I trust yow doo. The nott heryng off the Leg: arywall . . . . . us sumwhat to muse, nott withstandyng we trust by your dilyg . . . . . (with the assystence of all myghty God) shortly to be easyd owght . . . no more to yow att thys tyme, but that I pray God send yow . . . . . and prosperyte as the wryters wolde. By your lovyng So . . . . . Frende

HENR . . .

THE reluctance and affected delays of Campegius in bringing the Pope's decretal Bull to England in 1527, cannot be unknown to any reader of English History. He arrived on October the 9th. that year; but so severely afflicted by the gout, as to make him decline the solemnities of a triumphant entry into London, which Henry and Wolsey had planned for him.

LETTER XCV.

William Knight to Cardinal Wolsey. A. D. 1527.

[MS. COTTON. VESP. F. I. fol. 70. *Orig.*]

*** John Zapol Sepuse, vaivode of Transylvania, according to Lord Herbert, pretending he was chosen King of Hungary by the greater part of the nobility, complained to divers of the Christian Princes, and particularly to Henry the Eighth of the usurpation of Ferdinand of Austria, whose personal merit and powerful connections had occasioned the Hungarian nobility in fact to give him the preference over his competitor.

The real state of the case, however, stood thus. Upon the death of Lewis King of Hungary without issue, a dispute arose respecting the succession between John Zapol Sepuse, and Ferdinand of Austria, the latter supporting his claim by his relationship to the late King, and by several Treaties between the House of Austria and the Kings of Hungary. In an Assembly of the Nobles at Abbe Royal, JOHN was declared King, and was crowned by some bishops a few months after the death of Lewis. But Stephen Bathoreus the palatine of the Kingdom, and the greatest part of the nobility and bishops being attached to FERDINAND, who was likewise favoured by Margaret the queen of Hungary his sister, his claim prevailed; and he was crowned King at Abbe Royal about a year after John Zapol, whom he had expelled. John Zapol, having made conditions with and obtained the assistance of Solyman the Turk, in turn, defeated Ferdinand; and again obtained the investiture of the Kingdom. A peace however, was at last made in 1536, when it was agreed that John should continue in possession of the part of Hungary which he then held; but that at his death the whole Kingdom should fall to Ferdinand and his issue. John died in 1541; but Hungary was left open to fresh commotions.

The first part of the following Letter details the circumstances of the audience which Henry the Eighth gave to Jerome à Lasco, John Zapol's ambassador, in which, however, no mention occurs of Ferdinand. The answer which was given is not very dissimilar to that which Hall assures us was afterwards returned to the more ceremonious embassy of Ferdinand, by the mouth of Sir Thomas More.

The second portion of this Letter dwells upon a different topic. It divulges a scene between Henry the Eighth and his Secretary truly characteristic of that determination which marked the whole of the King's conduct in the business of the divorce; and furnishes an instance of no common perfidy.

Of William Knight, the writer of this Letter, an Account is given in Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses. He was Secretary both to King Henry the Seventh and King Henry the Eighth; by the latter of whom he was sent upon an Embassy to the Emperor Maximilian. He died at Calais in 1540.

PLEASE it your Grace to understond that the xth day of this present moneth I received from your Lordship a pacquet of Lettres, and amongs the same oon directed unto the Kyngs Highnesse which I delyvred immediatly at the Moore[a]. And this day beyng the xiiij^th day of this Moneth I received oon othr pacquet, and in the same a Lettre for his Highnesse, then bey-

[a] The manor of the More, from which several Letters in this Volume are dated, was situated in the parish of Rickmeresworth in Hertfordshire. Stow, in his Annals, under the year 1472, says, "George Nevill archbishop of York, being at Windsor with King Edward on hunting, the King promised the archbishop to come to THE MORE (a place in Hertfordshire which the archbishop had purchased and builded commodiously) there to hunt and make merry with him, whereupon the archbishop taking his leave of the King, went home to his manor of the More, and there made great provision for the King, and sent for much plate that he had hid at the time of Barnet and Tewkesburie fields, and besides this borrowed much of his friends, and purveyed for the King for two or three days meat, drink, and lodging, as royally as he could: but the day before the King had promised to have come to the More, the King suddenly sent for the archbishop to come to Windsor, where he was arrested of Treason that he should help the Earl of Oxford, and so was sent to Calais, and to Hammes, where he continued long after prisoner: all which time the King kept the archbishoprick in his own hands. In this mean while Sir William Parr Knight, and Sir Thomas Vahan, and other, were sent to the More to seise all his goods for the King, which came there to the sum of L 20,000; and all other lordships and lands that the said archbishop had within England, and all his stuff and riches."

In the first year of King Henry the Seventh, this manor was granted to John Vere Earl of Oxford: but afterwards came again to the Crown, and was not granted away from it till the time of James 1st. A. D. 1617.

There is a Survey of the House here, among the Lansdowne Manuscripts in the British Museum taken in 1568; and another of the lands in 1571, when the estate which had been annexed to the Dutchy of Lancaster, was agreed to be granted out to the Earl of Bedford for his Life. From the former Survey it appears that the Mansion itself was of brick; the chief buildings forming a square court which was entered by a Gate House with towers. The royal Lodgings were on the East and West sides of the Court, one being called the King's the other the Queen's side. On the North side of the Court was a long Gallery. The whole was moated. The dilapidated state of this House seems to have been the cause of its being quitted as a royal residence. The necessary charges for repairs in 1568 were estimated at the sum of L1806. 13. 4; while the estimate of what the materials of the House were worth as it stood amounted to no more than L1386. 13. 4.

ing at Endvelde[a], which was delyvred incontynently. This day Segnior Jeronimo de Lasko ambassador for the new elect Kyng of Hungary declared his charges before the Kyng and his Cowncel oonly, withowte any other audience; which in the begynnyng of his Oracion spake of the miserable chaunce of Hungary and thar with a good circumstaunce. Shewyng aftyrwardes how by free election of the noblemen of Hungary, Vaywoda his master beyng chosen Kyng refused for certayne considerations t'accept the same: nevyrthelesse by importunyte of the noblemen and communes of that contree he was in a manyer compelled to take the governance upon hym: beyng in ferme and good hope that all cristen princes wolde accept and take in good parte his election and admyssion unto the governaunce of Hungarye. And forasmoche as the Turkes beyng possessed in the chiefe castelles and holdes of that contree, havyng there grete numbre of men of warre in garrisones, yt is supposed and feared that a general conquest of Hungary is by theym purposed and determyned. He therefor desired sum ayde of the Kyngs Highnesse for resistence of the Turks and defens of the contree; and fynally shewed the singuler good mynde that the Kyng of Hungarye bereth unto the Kings Highnesse, and moreovyr the grete confidens that he hathe in his Mageste: and thus makyng an ende of his Oracion retyred. Upon this the Kyng

[a] Enfield.

rehersed effectuelly bifore his Cowncel the hole contentes of the saide Oracion, and, shewyng his pleasure, commawnded the Deane of his Chapel to exequute thesame in awnswere: which in effecte was this: The Kyngs Highnesse was right sorye of the grete calamyte and ovyrthrow of the Hungaryones, and ensuyngly sayde that forasmoche as the new Kyng was elect by th'assent and consent of the nobles and communes of that reame, yt was to be thowzt that thei dyd knowe suche qualitese of vertue in his personage as was requysite to be in hym that shulde not oonly governe in tyme of peaxe, but allso in case of Invasion bi the Turks shuld be moste mete to defend and resiste. Wherefore the Kyngs Highnesse dyd congratulate and was veari glad of the sayde Kyngs assumpcion unto the governement of Hungarye. As towching ayde and succours, yf the contrees dyd so nere adjoyne that his Highnesse myght convenyently and in tyme cum or send ayde unto theym, he wolde neyther spare his tresore nor other thyng beyng within his domynyons, nor refuse to adventure his owen persone yf the case so requyred; but the distaunce of the regions considred, and moreovyr the cruel warre that is norished, susteyned, and contynued in Crystendome not oonly betwene meane princes, which by mediacion and persuasion of the chieffes and heddes myzt be easily reconciled, but by extreme tirannye executed agaynst the See apostolique and the Vicare of Criste by hym that

of veari duety owgt to supporte, maynteigne, and defend the same, yt myght so chaunce that his Highnesse shulde see cawse to employe and bestowe all his myght and power for redresse and reformacion thereof. And fynally thanks was gyven for the King of Hungari's good mynde, and was recompensed with offerts of like kyndnesse. Th'ambassador had a brodre with hym called Stanyslaus de Lasko, whome at the request of th'ambassador the King dyd make Knighte; and this doone, thei departed from the Courte. And forasmoche as the Kyngs Highnesse wolde that your Grace shulde be participant of that that occurreth or is by his Highnesse and Cowncel doone here, he commaunded me immediatli to write the premisses; and aftyrwards dyd send for me unto a secrete place, and willed me to wrizt unto your Grace in moste secret and diligent manyer that I cowde this that foloweth.

So yt is that Frauncoise Philip, Spagniard, sewer unto the Quene, hath instantly laboured for licence to go into Spaigne, pretendyng cawse and colour of his goyng to be forasmoche as he saiyth he wolde viset his modre which is veari sore syk. The Quene hath bothe refused to assent unto his goyng, and allso laboured unto the Kings Highnesse to empeshe the same. The Kyngs Highnesse knowyng grete colusion and dissymulacion betwene theym, doyth allso dissymule, faynyng that Philip his desyre ys made upon good grownde and consideracion, and easyli hath persuaded

the Quene to be content with his goyng; and bicawse it was thowzt daungerous for hym to passe throwz Fraunce, or at this season by the Seeys, the Kyng hath sayde that in case Philip be taken by ennymyse his Highnesse will redempe hym and pay his rawnesome. And this policie the Kyng useth to bring Philip in more ferme confidence. But his pleasure ys, and allso he desireth and prayeth your Grace to use suche policie as notwithstondyng any salve conduct that the saide Philip shall obteigne, other by your Graces meanes or any other, of the Frensh King, he may be let, empeshed, and deteigned in sum quarter of Fraunce; so that it be not in any wise knowen that the saide lett, arrest, or deprehension shulde cum bi the King, by your Grace, or any of the Kings subjectes. The King's Highnesse doith perceyve that the Quene is thoonly cawse of this manny's goyng into Spaigne, as he that is and hath bene allways prive unto the Queene his affaires and secretes. And whereas the saide Philip hath his passeport delivered, signed, and sealed, and hath shewed unto the Kyng that he entendyth to passe by Calays and by your Grace, and peraventure not havyng trust and confidence in any salve conduct to be grawnted in Fraunce doith but dyssimule, entendyng to passe with the first that will contynue the passage by See. His Grace hertili desyreth yow in this case to advertise my Lorde of Worcettur, requyryng hym by all manyer of waiys to herkyn, espie, serche,

[and] enquyre to what personages in themperor's Courte Philip shall frequent and reasorte, and what he doyth and what he entendyth there. The Holigoste preserve your Grace. At Envelde this xv^th^ day of July.

Your moste humble bedesman

W^M^ KNIGHTE.

Lorde Legats
good Grace.

LETTER XCVI.

Sir Bryan Tuke to Cardinal Wolsey. A. D. 1528.

[MS. COTTON. VESP. C. IV. fol. 237. *Orig.*]

*** Of this Letter the first and last parts only are given to the reader; the intermediate portion, relating to the Truce which Henry the Eighth was obliged to conclude with the Lady Margaret of Flanders being omitted, as a matter of no high importance.

The circumstance of the re-making of Henry the Eighth's WILL as early as 1528, mentioned in the paragraphs given, is too curious not to be remarked upon.

It is probable that, in his caprice, Henry, during a long reign, made many Wills; but, apparently, without consulting his Lawyers. In this instance, at least, he devised the rough draft for himself, and then sent for one of his Secretaries to write it out.

The original of Henry's LAST WILL *of all* is still remaining in the Chapter House at Westminster; on paper; forming a thin quarto Volume. It is dated Dec. 30th 1546. The King's name is signed to it at the beginning and the end, with his own hand; the latter of the signatures followed by the names of eleven Witnesses.

Different objections have been made to the genuineness of this Will; but there seems no reasonable ground to doubt its authenticity: although the probability is great that it was made in haste; and that Henry was assisted in the writing of his name. His signatures indeed, both at the beginning

and the end are written with an appearance of strength, at a time when a shaking hand might rather have been expected from his infirmities.

From the heading of a Letter which will be given in another page, it appears that as early as 1530 Henry had, at times, used a Stamp to save the trouble of signing documents with his name: and as age and infirmities increased, he used it oftener. Toward the close of his life, upon particular occasions, it was countersigned. Among the Harleian Charters in the Museum[a] are his original Letters patents with the Great Seal appended, directed to the archbishop of Canterbury and others, *not less than six of them*, to make warrants, from time to time "in our name, and *under* OUR STAMP remayning in the custody of our Counsail, for the payment of money:" dated in the 36th. year of his reign.

The use of this stamp in so important a document as the testamentary disposition of Henry's Kingdoms, would undoubtedly have been liable to great objection.

Sir Bryan Tuke the writer of this Letter, was Treasurer of the Chamber and Secretary to King Henry the Eighth. Tanner, from one of Ashmole's manuscripts at Oxford, says he was first made Secretary to the King for the French tongue in 1523, with a stipend of a hundred marks a year.

About 1525 he purchased the manor of Layer Marney in Essex of the coheirs of Lord Marney; and was sheriff of Essex in 1533. At a later period, in 1540, he obtained a grant of the manor of South Weald in that county, which had belonged to Waltham Abbey. He died Oct. 26th. 1545, and was buried in the church of St. Margaret Walbrook London[b].

PLEASE it your good Grace to understonde, insuyng the purpose whiche I last wrote unto your Grace, I sent on with my Lettres to Mr. Treasorer for knowlege of the Kings pleasure whither I shulde repaire to his gracious presence; whiche Mr Treasorer, at the arrival of the messenger at Waltham, lay there sike of the Swet; and the Kings Highnes removed to Hunsdon.

[a] Cart. antiq. Harl. 83. H. 9.

[b] See Tann. Bibl. Brit. Hib. p. 724. Rym. Fœd. tom. xiv. pp. 259, 407, 433. Morant, Hist. Essex, vol. i. pp. 117, 407. Other Letters of his will are found among the Cottonian Manuscripts; Galba B. VI. fol. 94. B. VIII. fol. 4. Vitell. B. x. fol. 82, B. XI. fol. 80. Vesp. F. XIII. fol. 160. Tit. B. I. foll. 82, 91, 158, 277, 280, 282, 286, 402. B. XI. fol. 356.

The messenger folowed, and, as I bad hym in Mr. Treasorers absence, he delyvered the lettres to the King whiche his Grace red, bothe that whiche your Grace wrote to my Lorde of London and me, myn to my lorde of London, my Lorde of London's answer to me, and my lettre to Mr. Treasorer. His Grace asked the messenger what disease I had, and he tolde his Grace wrong. Wherupon the King said I must neds come though I ride in a littor, and that if I had none, his Grace wolde sende me on. So knowing his gracious pleasour, I folowed on my mule a fote pace with merveilous payne, insomoche as I assure your grace on my faithe I voide blood *per virgam*, and yesterday in the after none camme hither, and spake with his Grace as soone as I camme. His Highnes semyng to be somwhat satisfied in the mater of the truce by reason of the lettres, said his first sending for me was for that cause; but now he must put me to an other besynes, and occupie me here a good while; saying to me secretely, and willing me so to kepe it, that it is to write out his last Wil, whiche his Highnes hathe nowe newely reformed.

* * * * * * * * *

His Highnes having his sowper on the borde and in his sight, being redy to have sit doun when his Grace called for me, wolde at that tyme demore[a] no more on the mater; but said he had hymself provided

[a] demur.

my logyng at a gentilmans place herby, and willed me to take my rest for that nyzt, and to retorne to his Highnes this day; at whiche tyme his Grace wolde conferre with me upon the other said secrete mater of his Wil. And so willing to have rewarded me with a dish if I had not said that I ete no fish, I, taking my leve of his Grace, departed ij. myles to the said lodgyng.

And at my retorne this mornyng founde his Grace going to the gardeyn, whither by commaundment of His Grace I wayted upon the same. After his retorne, and iij. masses herd, his Highnes immediately called me with hym to a Chamber that his Grace supped in apart yesternyzt; and after communication of the good state of this House, with the holsomnes of the Ayre, and howe commodious it is for such a tyme of sikenes as this is, with other things aperteynyng to those matiers, his Highnes delyvered me the Boke of his said Wil in many points reformed, wherein his Grace riped me, ordeynyng me a chambre here under his Privey Chamber, and willing me to sende for my stuf and to go in hande with his besynes; and as I shalbe in any doubte, to repaire from tyme to tyme to his Grace: so as if it be as they of the Privey chambre tel me, I am not like to departe this v or vj. daies at the lest, though I have here no maner stuf but a bed that I brouzt on an horseback, redy to cast in an Inne or House where I shulde fortune to come. Howe be it, I do sende for

my stuf and take in the meane tyme suche as I can borowe; and am disapointed of my Phisicke whiche I had ordeyned to have used for a small tyme at my poore house in Essex, whither I sent a phisician to remayne with me for a season promysing hym a mark by day, horsmete, and mans mete. Nowe I wol sende hym worde to retorne til I may have leve do departe: at whiche tyme I must most humbly beseche your Grace to licence me to attende upon my Phisician for viij. or x. dais, ellis I shal utterly, for lak of loking to at this bigynnyng, destroy my self for ever.

It is said the Kings Highnes wol lye here viij. or x. dais. Other matier I have non worthy to advertise your Grace, whom I beseche almyzty God to preserve in good helthe, long life, and prosperite. At Hunsdon this Sonday at dyner tyme the xx^th^ day of June 1528.

Your Graces most humble and most
bounden servant
BRYAN TUKE.

LETTER XCVII.

Sir Brian Tuke to Cardinal Wolsey.

[MS. COTTON. TITUS, B. I. fol. 299.]

*** Beside his literary talents, Henry the Eighth was skilled in Music, and as will be seen in the following Letter, piqued himself upon possessing a competent knowledge of Medicine.

The reader will probably smile to learn that a Volume of Henry the Eighth's own time is still preserved[a], containing a large Collection of Recipes for plaisters, spasmadraps[b], ointments, waters, lotions, decoctions, and poultices, made by the King himself and his physicians. It begins with "the King's Majesty's own Plastre." Indeed all his Majesty's plaisters precede those of his Medical Attendants.

The ingredients of these Recipes, though in different proportions, are much the same in kind. They consist of the roots, buds, and leaves of different plants; raisins without stones; linseed; quinseed; vinegar; rose-water; long garden-worms; malmesey and white wines; bole-armoniac; lytherge of gold and silver; scrapings of ivory; pearls powdered fine; red lead; and red coral; honeysuckle water; the suet of hens; and the fat from the thigh-bone of a calf.

A plaister jointly devised by Mr. Chambre, Dr. Butts, Dr. Augustin, and Mr. Cromer, the four principal Physicians of the Court, differs nothing in the ingredients.

Of the Ointments in the Volume, fifteen out of fifty were devised and made by the King.

Whether "a Plaster for my Lady Anne of Cleves to mollifie and resolve, confort, and cease payne of cold and wyndie causses," was of his Majesty's composition or devised by his Physicians, is not stated.

It was not, however, to the making of plaisters and ointments only that Henry's medical studies were confined. In "an Hospitall for the Diseased," 4to Lond. 1595, sig. G. 2. is "A REMYDY *against the* PLAGUE, sent to *the Lord Mayor of London* from King Henry the Eighth."

A similar Recipe occurs among the Manuscripts of Sir Hans Sloane, intitled "A Medycyn for the pestylence, of Kyng Henry the Eighth, wyche hath helpyd dyvers persons." It is as follows:

"Take on handfull of marygolds, a handfull of sorel, and a handfull of burnett, half a handful of fetherfew, half a handful of rew, and a quantite of dragons of the top or els of the rootts, and wesshe them cleyn in rynnyng water, and putt them in a pott wyth a potell of rynnyng water, and let them seyth easyly fro a potell on to a quarte of lyquor, and then sett yt bak tyll yt be almost cold, and streyn yt theyn with a fyn cloth, and drynk yt; and yf yt be bytter put therto Sugere. And yf it be takyn before that purpulls do apere yt wyll hele the syke person wyth Gods grace."[c]

His Majesty's advice as to the nature and cure of the Sweating Sickness, will be found mixed up with other subjects, not less interesting, in the following Letter.

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[a] MS. Sloane, Brit. Mus. 1047.

[b] These were dipped-plaisters.

[c] MS. Sloane, 4. p. 51.

PLEASE it your good Grace to understonde yesternyzt late I receyved your Graces Lettres dated yesterday at Hampton Corte, with other commen oute of France and Spayn, whiche after I had perused, I incontinently brouzt unto the Kings Highnes, being then commonyng secretely with his phisician M. Chambr in a chamber within a Towre where his Highnes somtyme useth to suppe aparte. And after your Graces most humble recommendacions by me made unto his Highnes, with declaracion of receipt of the said Lettres, his Grace willed me first to rede unto the same the Lettres of your Grace to me directed, whiche I did, and when I had red that whiche your Grace writeth towching the Trieux[a] his Highnes said, as it was in dede, that I had bifore largely shewed and extended the same reasons unto hym, and that I had not left it untowched in any parte, as I assure your Grace the trouthe was; ffor if I had omytted that point, seing howe special and material it was, and howe abundantely it was cowched bothe in Latyn and in English in your Graces Lettres to my Lorde of London and me directed, I had not ben worthy to were myn eres on my hed, ne to do a message bitwene ij. so grete Princes; but I promyse your Grace I more then ons inculked that and other, whiche in all points I did not repete but summarily in my Lettres unto your Grace, bicause to say the trouthe unto your Grace secretely,

[a] Truce.

the Kings Highnes who biganne his argument veray ernestaly, by then I had answerd the objeccions of his Grace, semed neither then nor at any tyme sithens glad to here any more reasonyng in that mater; ne his Grace nowe any more stode therupon, but as is aforesaid, save only that his Highnes said that yet the Spanyards have avantage in that they may use his havons to their commodite, and yet the Englishmen myzt not do the same in Spayn; wherunto I answered that if the profite and commodite that may arise therupon with suche respects and consideracions as may be picked oute of the words of your Grace's said Lettre to me, that is to say, "When the benefite and quiet-"nes which is like to arise to al the King's subgetts "traveiling by every cost and see &c. shal be wel con-"sidred and digested, it shalbe found, *quod ille Ar-"ticulus, non sine magna arte et cautela,* was cowched "in the said treux, &c." If this I said be wel considred, it shalbe founde that it is no more to the Spanyards avantage, then it is and shalbe to the weale and commodite of the Kings realme; and that by then his Highnes hathe at good lenght ben by your Grace informed howe many other avantages may be taken to his Highnes by this truce, his Grace wol say it is on of the most politique handled matiers that hathe ben seen. His Highnes being singulerly wel satisfied and pleased said, "Ye by God they delt with no fole:"

meanyng by this worde *they* the ambassadors and secretaries: and so bad me rede forthe.

As to the Lettres of the King of Scotts, I, bifore sowper, at his Graces commyng in from shoting, had put the same in remembrance of them, and of Gonsons Lettre, wherupon his Highnes willed me to make a lettre to Gonson to tary on the See as long as his, and the vitailes of the ship newely set forthe, shulde suffise for them al[a]. I said that that was the veray content of your Graces lettres written to the said Gonson whiche his Grace had, and was redy signed, neding nothing but sending forthe. Wherupon his Highnes commaunded M[r]. Norres to fetche me the said Lettres to Gonson, and to the King of Scotts, whiche wer in his prevy chambre, and so Master Norres brouzt them to my chambre; but the Lettre to the King of Scotts was unsigned; wherfore I prayed hym to have it to the King, then being set at sowper, and at convenient tyme to pray his Grace to signe it; but incontinently he sent it me again saying that the Kings Highnes wolde speke with me on it after sowper. And at reding of your Graces said lettre his Highnes said "Wel I wol shewe you anon," and so bad me rede forthe. The next article, towching the

[a] In the Cottonian MS. Otho E. IX. fol. 35. is a Letter from William Gonson to Cardinal Wolsey, probably the same person, dated March 15th. without year, concerning the conduct he is to keep toward certain French and Spanish ships. In the same Volume, fol. 54. is a set of Receipts from him for sums received of Thomas Cromwell, treasurer of the King's Jewels, for victualling of certain ships.

relaxacion of the Kings ambassadors, merchants, and their goods, his Grace toke veray pleasantly, and specially the words that your Graces maner was loked for *cum magna omnium expectatione et spe futuræ pacis*, saying that it was a grete apparence that al the eest shulde wel succede.

In reding the article of the Lettres commen from my lorde of Bathe, his Grace semyng to thinke long to here them, while I red, sorted the Lettres and Copies of that mater by the markings on the bakks, saying when I red of the good office that Moret and th'ambassador had done, that nowe a man may see the honeste of Moret though it was thouzt he had not made the best reaport; gretely commending hym, and also the honeste, wisedome, and discrecion of the bishop of Bayon.

And commyng to that your Grace wrote to be sory of my disease wherof I most humbly thanke your Grace, His Highnes begenne to tel me a medecyn *pro tumore*, saving yor Grace's honor, *testiculorum;* I immediately said his Highnes was not wel informed of my disease whiche is not there but *in vesica*, and procedeth *ex calore in renibus*. His Highnes had me by and by, and I promyse your Grace gave me as direct counsail and shewed me the remedyes as any connyng phisician in England coude do. So most humbly thanking his Highnes I red forthe til it camme to the latter ende mencionyng your Graces good comfort and

counsail geven to his Highnes for avoiding this Infeccion, for the whiche the same with a most cordial maner thanked your Grace. And, shewing me first a grete proces of the maner of that Infeccion howe folks wer taken, howe litel dangier was in it if good ordre be observed, howe fewe wer ded of it; howe Mastres Anne and my lorde of Rochforde bothe have had it, what jeoperdie they have ben in by retornyng in of the swet bifore the tyme, of the endevor of M. Butts who hathe ben with them and is retorned, with many other things towching those matiers, and finally of their perfite recovery. His Highnes willed me to write unto your Grace most hertily, desiring the same above all other things to kepe Your Grace oute of al ayre where any of that Infeccion is, and that if [in] on place any on fal sike therof that your Grace incontinently do remove to a clene place; and so in like case from that place to an other, and with a smal and clene company, saying that that is the thing wherby his Highnes hathe porged his House having the same nowe thanked be God clene. And over that his Highnes desireth your Grace to use smal sowpers, and to drinke litel wyne, namely that is big, and ons in the weke to use the pilles of Rasis[a]. And if it comme, in any wise to swete[b] moderately the ful tyme, withoute suffering it to renne, in whiche by your Graces physicians, with a posset-ale having certein herbes clarified in it, shall

[a] Probably so named from Rhases the Arabian physician. ED. [b] sweat.

facilly, if nede be, be provoked and contynued; with more good holsom counsail by his Highnes in most tender and loving maner geven to your Grace then my symple wit can suffise to reherce, whiche his gracious commaundment I said I wolde accomplish accordingly.

Thus proceding to the lettres to shewe your Grace summarily, for rehersing every thing seriously I shal over long moleste your Grace, his Highnes mervelously commendeth the Frenche Kings vertuous and religious demeanor used in the ceremonies on Corpus Christi day, and the other day, against that dampnable and scelerate demeanor of those wors then Jues that wolde do suche dispite to the blissed Images where they can not do it to the thing self. Insomoche as after al the lettres red that camme oute of France, and that his Grace was going to his Privey Chambre, the same in his way calling me to it, tolde the gentilmen of his Privey chambr the hole maner of it, and after that asmoche as your Grace wrote in your lettre, and as my lorde of Bathe writeth of the good hoope that is in the maters of Spayn, and with what desire your Graces maner was abiden, willing me to rede them the clause of my lorde of Bathes lettre towching the French Kings said demeanor. When in my lorde of Bathes lettre I red this clause " et *magnus numerus* specially of no-
" ble men, and suche as be of counsail here, be right
" sory that the Frenche King their master hathe not
" suche an other counsaillor," the Kings Highnes said

"Ye by God I blame them never a dele." The residue of al the Lettre also singulerly wel liked his Grace, and so did the Frenche Kings lettres to the Poope and to his Ambassador resident with his Holynes towching the Kings mater, which lettre to the ambassador his Highnes rekeneth more effectuelly cowched then that to the Poope being nevertheles veray glad of them bothe, the copies wherof his Grace toke and said he wolde incontinently sende on with them to mastres Anne for her consolacion.

His Highnes also liketh wel the Frenche Kings Lettres to the Venecians for Ravenna and Servia, and desireth your Grace to write unto the Frenche to finde the meanes that those two townes may be put in to the Kings and the Frenche Kings hands as was ons spoken of; thinking that the Poopes Holynes wol be then the more glad to condescende unto the Kings desires whiche his Grace nowe feareth by reason of the long taryeng of Lettres from Mr. Stephens[a], that the Poopes Holynes stikketh in for feare of the Emperor. The Lettre of my Lady the Frenche Kings moder to your Grace, the Kings Grace thouzt also veray prudently, wel, and truly cowched. Al whiche things red, being then xj. of the clok at nyzt, his Grace said he wolde see the Newes of Spayn this day. Howe be it his Grace is not yet commen doun, for his Highnes commeth by my chambre dore, and dothe for the most

[a] Dr. Stephen Gardiner.

parte, going and commyng, tourne in for divising with me upon his Boke, and other things occurrant.

As I was at this worde his Highnes camme doune and streight into my chambre, asking me howe nere I had don; and I shewed his Highnes howe ferre forthe I am, and therupon did put his Grace in remembrance to see the newes of Spayn, and to signe the King of Scotts lettre whiche his Grace saithe he wol do sone, and is gone a walking.

Now is worde commen that M. Cary, whiche bifore I camme lay in the chambr where I lye, and with whom at my first commyng I met nere unto the place, saying that he had been with his wife at Plashey[a], and wolde not be seen within, bycause he wolde ride again and hunte, is ded of the swet. Our Lorde have mercy on his soule; and holde his hande over us[b].

Insuyng your Grace's commaundement, when I have don here, I wol dispose me to repaire unto your Grace by suche journeys as I maye endure, whiche is not over ten myles in a day. And by London away I dare not comme. Wherfore I wol cost to the water side, and come the rest by water thorough London bridge. Though I promyse your Grace there is non erthely riches shulde cause me to travaile moche nowe, considering that the phisicians tel me there is nothing

[a] Pleshey, near Great Waltham in Essex, was the ancient seat of the High Constables of England.

[b] This was William Carey, who married Mary the sister of Anne Boleyn. He was esquire of the body to the King. See Dugd. Bar. tom. ii. p. 397.

that more stirreth the mater and cause of the Swet then moche traveil, and likwise commyng in the Sun. And of my disease, I assure your Grace I am wors by moche then I was. I most humbly beseche your Grace to geve me knowlege if your Grace fortune to remove, that I may spare as moche travaile oute of the way as may be. Thus not tarying til the King have red the newes of Spayn, and keping the rest of the lettres with me til I may remyt them to your Grace to gider, and having sent forthe your Graces lettre to Gonson with on of myne excusing the long delay, I depeche this lettre to advertyse your Grace of the premysses. To whom I beseche almyzty Jesu to sende long and prosperous life to al our comforts. At Hunsdon this Tewsday the xxiijth day of June 1528.

Your Graces most humble and feitheful
bounden servant
BRIAN TUKE.

To my Lorde Legats good Grace.

Of the Sweating Sickness it may not be improper to subjoin a short Account. It was called by the learned and foreigners "Sudor Britannicus," and, by the common people of the country, "The Sweat" or "New Acquaintance"[a].

It made its first appearance in England in 1483, in the army of Henry the Seventh, after his landing at Milford Haven. It appeared again, raging chiefly in the summer, in 1485, in 1506, in 1517, in 1528, and lastly in 1551. After which time it entirely disappeared. In 1529, and only then, it infested the Netherlands and Germany.

[a] Bryan Tuke in a Letter to Peter Vannes, Wolsey's secretary, MS. Cotton. Tit. B. XI. fol. 356. says, "It reigneth in no country but in the King's domynion, being called in France and Flandres the King of England's Sikenes, and by them not estomed."

In 1517 it was so violent as sometimes to prove fatal in three hours. It more commonly killed those who were seized with it in seven or eight hours. Those who survived twenty-four hours generally recovered.

Our chief information of the symptoms and treatment of this disorder is derived from Dr. Caius, one of the most learned and most rational physicians of his day, who wrote two Treatises upon it, one in Latin for the learned, the other for the common people in English. They were both published in 1552, the year after the last disappearance of the malady. The symptoms are described as alarming from the first moment, such as burning heat, excessive sickness, head-ach, delirium, unquenchable thirst, vehement pulse, and labouring breath. Old people, children, and the poor, were the least subject to its attacks.

The following is Dr. Caius's Account of the progress of this disorder through the country in 1551:

"The fifth tyme[a] of this fearful Ephemera of England and pestilent Sweat, is this in the yeare MDLI. of oure Lord God, and the fifth yeare of oure Sovereigne Lorde King Edward the Sixth, beginning at Shrewesbury in the middest of April, proceedinge with great mortalitie to Ludlowe, Prestene, and other places in Wales, then to West Chestre, Coventre, Oxenfoorde, and other townes in the Southe, and such as were in and aboute the way to London, whither it came notablie the seventh of July, and there continuing sore, with the losse of vij C. lxj. from the ix. day until the xvj. day, besides those that died in the vij and viij dayes of whom no registre was kept; from that it abated until the xxx. day of the same, with the losse of Clxij. more. Then, ceasing there, it wente from thence throughe all the east partes of England into the North untill the ende of Auguste, at which tyme it diminished, and in the ende of Septembre fully ceassed."[b]

LETTER XCVIII.

Sir Thomas More to Cardinal Wolsey.

[MS. COTTON. GALBA B. V. fol. 122. *Orig.*]

HIT may lyke your good Grace to be advertised that yister nyghte the Kings Highnes commaunded

[a] It should be the sixth.
[b] See the English Treatise, printed by Grafton, 12° Lond. 1552. fol. 10 b.

me to advertise your Grace that his servant Michael the Geldrois delivered hym a Lettre from Monsr de Iselsteyne, which his Grace hath sent unto Yours, in such maner cowched that it semeth to his Highnes to have proceded not without th'advice of my Lady Margaret and the Counsaile there. And for as mych as the Lettre mencioned credence to be geven to the bringer in the declaring of the same, he shewed un to his Highnes un the behalfe of Monsr d'Eselsteyne that my Lady and all the Counsaile there, and among other hym selfe, especially were very sory for this warre, intimated un to th'Emperor, and mervelouse loth and hevy wold be that eny warre shold arise bytwene theym: and that it were to great pitie, and a thyng highly declaring Our Lord sore displeasure with Christen peple, if the thre grotteste Princes of Christendome cummyng to so nere points of peace and concord, shold in so nere hope and expectatione of peace sodaynly fall at warre, beseching the Kings Highnes graciously to percever in his godly mynde and appetite of peace: and how so ever it shold happe to fall bytwene hym and Spaynê, yit to considre his auncient Amitie, and to continue his good and graciouse favour toward Flandres and those Lowe Cuntries, which of all folke living lotheste wolde be to have eny enemyte with his Grace or his peple. Adding therunto that if his Highnes has of his high wisedome eny convenient meanys by whiche his Grace thought that the peace

myght yit be trayned and cum to good point, that thing knowen, he wold not dowte to cum over hym selfe to his Grace with sufficient authorite to conclude hit. Whereunto the Kings Grace answered that no creature living, Prince nor pore man, was more lothe to have cummen to the Warre than he, nor that more labour and travaile had taken in his mynde to conduce the peace which he had undowtedly brought to passe, if with th'Emperor either resonable respecte of his awne honor, profite, and suertie, or eny regard of the commen weale of Christendome myght have taken place. And sith hit was without his fawte and agaynst his mynde cummen to this point now, his Grace muste and wold with other his frends, and helpe of God, defende his and theire good cause, and the commen state of Christendom, agaynste such as by theire immoderate sore dealing shew theym selfe uttrely sett uppon a purpose to putte all in theire awne subjection. And that as towchyng the Lowe Cuntreis he had for the old frendeshippe and amite such favor to theym, that, as it hath well appered by his actis, synnys th'intimation, he hath not bene hasty to do theym harme, nor at the leste wise to breke eny clause of theire old entrecourse, albeit every clause had not bene kepte toward hym. Wherin his Grace said that sumwhat thei had now bygon to loke un to, and he dowted not but more they wold for their honor. And where as Monsr. d'Eselstayne, uppon the hope hadde of eny good wais of peaxe,

offred hym selfe to cum over with sufficient authorite, his Grace saied that both for his great wisedome and good zele toward peace, and old frendely mynde toward his Grace of long tyme well knowen, and for th'acquayntaunce bytwene theym with the favor that his Grace hath for his well deserving merits long borne un to hym, no man shold be to his Grace more wellcum, nor none could there cum thense to whom his Grace could fynd in his hart more largely to declare his mynde, in which he had conceived such things that he dowted not if he cam over with sufficient authorite from th'Emperor, either he shold conclude the Peace or playnely perceive and confesse hym selfe that th' Emperors immoderate hardness shold be the onely lett and defawte. Uppon this the said Michael saied that Monsr d'Esilsteyne wold be glad to know what those devices were, which knowen he myght se what hope he myght have of eny frute to cum of his cumming. Wherunto the Kings Highnes answered, that sith his Grace had made the intimation it wold not well stande with his honor after such a sleight fashion to make eny overture of such points. But if Monsr d'Esilsteyne cam in such sufficient maner, authorised by th'Emperor he shold not faile to fynde his Grace such, that having so good zele and desire to the peace, he shold have cause to be gladde of his jorney. And thus much the Kings Highnes commaunded me to advertise your Grace concernyng the communication had

bitwene his Grace and the said Michael, desiring your Grace of your high wisedome to considre what were ferther to be devised or sett forth concernyng the said overture of Monsr. d'Esilsteyne.

After this, whan I was goone from his Highnesse hit lyked hym to send agayne for me in to his Privy Chambre, abowte x. of the clokke, and than commaunded me to advertyse your Grace ferther, that he had considered with hym selfe how loth the Low Cuntreis be to have eny warre with hym, and that hym selfe and your Grace, if it may be voided, wold be as lothe to have eny warre with theym; and for that cause his Grace thinketh it good that albeit he wold there were no slakkenes in putting of my lord Sands and his cumpany in a redynesse; yet they shold not over hastely be sente over leste those Low Cuntrees, being put in more dowte and fere of his Graces entent and purpose toward theym for some exploit to be done by land, myght be the rather moved to retayne and kepe still the goods of his merchaunts; and to bygynne also some busynes uppon th'Englisshe pale, which thing, the mater thus hanging without ferther fere or suspicion added, his Highnes verily thinketh that they will not attempte, but rather in good hope of peace, accelerate the delivery of his merchaunts goods, namely perceiving the discharge of the Spanyards whom by your Graces moost advice his Highnes hath condescended shortely to sett at libertie and fre passage.

And his Grace also thinketh that if my Lord Sands with his company were at Gisnes, they shold be sore preaced[a] by the French partie to joyne with them in some exploite uppon the borders of Flaunders; which thyng either they should stifly refuse to do, and therby peradventure move grudge and suspicion, or joyne in the doing, and therby some hurt done unto Flaundres uppon the fruntiers myght not onely exasperate the mater and hyndre the peace, causyng the goods of his merchaunts to be retayned, but also geve occasion to have some broilery made uppon the English pale, in which his peple myght percase take more harme than they shold inferre. And whan I was abowte to have shewed his Highnes sumwhat of my pore mynde in the mater, he saied this gere[b] could not be done so sodeynly but that his Grace and yours shold speke to gether first, and in the meane while he commaunded me this mych to advertyse your Grace of his mynde.

Ferthermore his Highnes desireth your Grace at such tyme as ye shall call the Spanyards by fore you to geve theym libertie to departe, hit may lyke you in such effectuall wise to declare un to theym what favor his Highnes bereth to the nation of Spayne, and how lothe his Grace wold have ben to have eny warre with theym; that th'opinion of his graciouse favor toward theym comprobate and corroborate by their discharge

[a] pressed. [b] stuff.

and franke deliveraunce being by them reported in Spayne, may move the nobles and the peple there to take the more grevousely toward th'eymperor that his unresonable hardenes shold be the cause and occasion of the warre. His Highnes hath also commanded me to write un to your Grace that ther is an Hospitall in Sowthwarke whereof his Highnes is enformed that the maister is olde, blynd, and feble, and albeit that the Hospitall is in the gifte of the Bishoppe of Wynchestre, yit his Grace is enformed that your Grace may as Legate geve the maister in this case a coadjutor, which if your Grace conveniently may, than his Highnes very hartely requireth your Grace that it may lyke you to appoint for his coadjutor his Grace's chappeleyn Mr Stanley, which to desire of your Grace he saith that ij. things move hym; the one that he wold the man were provided for, being a gentleman borne, and his Grace's chappeleyn; the tother is that his Grace being therby ridde and discharged of hym, myght, as he shortely wold, have a bettre lerned man in his place.

Hit may like your Grace to receive with this present such Lettres as the Kings Grace hath yesterday received owte of Ireland, which after that I had by his Graces commandement redde and reported un to his Grace, he commaunded me to sende theym un to your Grace to be by your high wisedom ferther considered and answeris to theym to be devised, such as to your high prudence shalbe sene convenient. And thus our

Lord long preserve your good Grace in honor and helth. At Wyndesore this xvj^th of Marche

Your Graces humble orator and

Moost bounden bedisman

THOMAS MORE.

LETTER XCIX.

Mary the French Queen to her brother K. Hen. VIIIth

[HARL. MS. 6986. ART. 6. *Orig.*]

My most derest and best belowyd brother I humbly recommend vn to yowr grace. Sir so yt tys that I have bene very seke and eke atons[a] for the wyche I was fayne to sende for Master Peter the fesysyon for to have hoplen[b] me of the dessays[c] that I haue. How be yt I am rathar wors than better. Were for[d] I trowst showrly[e] to come vp to Londone with my Lord. For and yf I shold tary here I am sowr I shold never asspeare the sekenys that I haue. Wer for, Sir, I wolde be the gladther a grete dele to com thether, by cawse I wold be glad to se yowr grace, the wyche I do thyncke long for to do; for I haue bene a grete wyle out of yowr syte: and now I thowst I shal not be so long agene: for the syte of yowr grace ys to me the grettys comforte to me that may be possybel. No

[a] at once. [b] holpen. [c] disease. [d] wherefore. [e] surely.

more to your grace at thys tyme, bwt I pray God send yow yowr hartys dessyr, and showrly to the syte of yow.

by yowr lowyng suster

MARY THE FRENCHE QU . .

LETTER C.

Anne Boleyn to Cardinal Wolsey.

[MS. COTTON. OTHO. C. X. fol. 218. *Orig.*]

*** Fiddes, at the end of his Life of Wolsey, has printed this and another Letter to the Cardinal from Anne Boleyn previous to her marriage. He has indeed printed three Letters*; but the second of the three, as appears from its contents, must have been addressed to archbishop Cranmer.

The mention of the Sweating Sickness in the Letter immediately before the Reader, as well as the anxiety it expresses for the coming of Campegius and the hastening of his decision, show that it must have been written in the autumn of 1528. It is here introduced to prepare the Reader more regularly for the perusal of those Letters which describe Anne Boleyn's advancement to the Throne and her Catastrophe.

This Letter, since Fiddes saw it, has suffered materially in the fire which injured the Cottonian Library in 1731. The words in brackets have been supplied from Fiddes's copy.

My Lord, in my most humblyst wyse that my powuer hart can thynke I do thanke your Grace for your kynd Letter, and for youer rych and goodly present, the whyche I shall never be able to desarve wyth owt your gret helpe, of the whyche I have hetherto hade so grete plente that all the dayes of my lyfe I am moaste bownd [of] all creators next the Kyngs Grace

* Fiddes's Life of Card. Wolsey, fol. Lond. 1726. Collect. p. 204, 205.

to love and serve your Grace, of the whyche I besyche yo[u never] to dowte that ever I shalle vary frome this thought as long a[s ony bre]the is in my body. And as tochyng your Graces troble with the Swet [I thanke o]wer Lorde that them that I desyerd and prayed for ar sca[pyd, and th]at is the Kyng and you. Not doughthyng bot that God [has preser]vyd you bothe for grete cawsys knowen allonly of his hy[gh wysdom]e. And as for the commyng of the Legate, I desyer that moche; [and yf it be Godds] pleasor I pray hym to send this matter shortly to [a good ende]: and then I trust my Lord to recompence part of your gr[ete panys the whych] I must requyer you in the meane tyme to excepte [my good wyll in t]he stede of the power, the whyche must prosede partly f[rom you as ower Lo]urd knoweth to whom I be syche to sende you lon[ge lyfe with continew]ance in honor. Wrytten wyth the hande of her th[at is most bound to be]

You[r humble and]
obed[yent servante
ANNE BOLEYN.]

THE other Letter which Fiddes has printed, and which is still preserved in the Cottonian Volume Vespas. F. XIII. fol. 55, is stronger in expressions of thankfulness toward Wolsey than this.

Both Letters indeed contain such assurances of regard, that Anne Boleyn has been charged with ingratitude for not aiding Wolsey in his declining fortune. Though with how little propriety the reflecting reader will determine for himself, who remembers that Wolsey, after separating Lord Percy from Anne Boleyn's affections, would have married Henry to a foreign Princess.

LETTER CI.

Thomas Alward to Thomas Cromwell. A. D. 1529.

[MS. COTTON. VITELLIUS. B. XII. fol. 173. *Orig.*]

*** The procrastination of Campegius in the Cause of the Divorce created so much irritation in the mind of Henry the Eighth, that by the courtiers the ruin of Wolsey was foreseen; and no one watched the ebb of his fortune with more intense anxiety than Thomas Cromwell.

The following Letter, though mutilated, presents a genuine picture of one of the last Interviews with which Wolsey was favoured by his Sovereign. It is dated on the 23d. of September; sixteen days after which the King's attorney presented the indictment against him in the Court of King's Bench upon the Statute of Provisors.

Thomas Alward, the writer of this Letter, appears to have been the Keeper of Wolsey's Wardrobe. He has been already incidentally named in the Letter which relates to the foundation of Ipswich College.

MAISTER Cromwel in my mooste hartiest wise I . . . . . .[a] unto you; advertisyng the same that I have dely . . . . . .[b] unto My Lordis Grace who did immediatly rede over . . . . . after the redyng wherof his Grace did put theym in . . . . . and so kepte theym always close to hym self. Th . . . . . unto you, bicause I never sawe hym do the like bifo . . . . . the which your Lettres his Grace commaunded me . . . . . And first, the same hertely thankyth you for your . . advertysement, made unto hym from tyme to tyme . . . . things as ye have written unto his Grace wherin I know . . . . . don unto his Grace singular pleasur and good service;

[a] *f.* recommende me.

[b] *f.* delyvered your

and as . . . . the vain bruts which goth against my lords . . . . . I assur you as fer as may apper unto my said . . . . . .[a] other that be his servaunts, they be mervailous false, . . and gretely I do mervaile wherof the same shul . . . . .[b] for I assur you that in this vacacion tyme . . . . . lettres wer written by the Kyngs commaundment from . . . . vyns[c] unto my said Lord, by the which his adv . . .[d] and opinion was at sundry tymes desired . . . in the Kyngs causis and affaires, unto the which lettres . . . . .[e] was made from tyme to tyme, as well by my lords . . . tyng[f] as also by the sendyng of his servaunts to the . . . . Instructions by mouth to the Kyng's Highnes as the . . .[g] and case did requir. Over this the noblemen and gentry . . . in my Lords goyng to the Courte as also in his retourne from . . .[h] same dyd mete and incounter hym at many places gently . .[i] humaynly as they wer wonte to do. On Sonday last my Lords Grace, with the Legat Campegius cam unto the Courte at Grene . . .[k] wher they wer honorably receyved and accompanyed with sundry of the Kings Counsaile and Servaunts, and so brought bifor masse onto the King's presence, who graciously and benigly after the accustumed goodnes of his Highnes, with very familiar and loving acountenance did welcome theym. And after communication and talkyng awhiles with my Lorde Campegius, his Grace talked a grete while with my Lorde a parte,

[a] *f.* Lord and. [b] *f.* arise. [c] *f.* Master Stevyns. [d] advice and.
[e] *f.* answer. [f] wrytyng. [g] *f.* matter. [h] the. [i] and. [k] Grenewych.

which don, they departed all to geder in to Chapel. And immediatly after dyner my Lords Grace went again unto the Kyngs Highnes beyng then in his pryvie chamber wher they wer commonyng and talkyng to geder at the leeste for the space of ij. houres, no person beyng present, and a friende of myne beyng of the privie Chamber told me at my Lords departur that tyme from thens ther was as good and as familiar accountynaunce shewed and used betwene theym as ever he sawe in his life heretofor. This don my Lords Grace with the Legat retourned unto theyr logyng at Maister Empson's place. On Monday in the mornyng my Lord leving the Legat at his logyng went again unto the Kyngs Grace, and after long talkyng in his Privie Chamber to geder, the Kyng, my Lord, and all the hole counsaile sate to geder all that for'-none aboute the Kyngs matiers and affaires. In the after none, my Lords Grace having then with hym the Legat Campegius, went to the Kyng's Grace, and after talkyng and communication had a long whilis with the Legat a parte they both toke ther leve of the Kyngs Highnes in as good fascion and maner, and with asmoche gentilnes, as ever I saw bifor. This don, the Kyngs Grace went huntyng. The Legate retourned to Maister Empson, and my lords Grace taried ther in Counsaile til it was darke nyght. Further mor my Lord of Suffolke, my Lord of Rochford, maister Tuke, and Master Stevyns did as gently . . . .

have theymselfs, with as moche observaunce and humy . . .[a] my Lords Grace as ever I sawe theym do at any . . . .[b] tofor. What they bere in ther harts I knowe n . .[c] Of the premissis I have seen with myne ies; wherfor I boldely presume and thinke that they be ferre . . . . overseen that sowth[d] the said false and untrewe reports; ascerteynyng you if ye coulde marke som . . . . .[e] chief stirrers therof ye shulde do unto His Grace . . .[f] pleasur. Assone as ye can spede your bysynes th . . . . Lord wolde be very glad of your retourne. My Lord wilbe on Monday next at London. And the Legat . . . pegius[g] shal departe shortely oute of Englonde. A . . . . . .[h] makyng an ende I commit you to the tuicion and g . . . . . .[i] Almyghty God. From Saint Albons the xxiij[th] S . . tember.

All the gentilmen of my Lords Chamber with the . . . . . .[k] of commendith theym hartely unto you.

Yowrs to my lytle . . . .

THOMAS ALVARD.

[a] humylyte to. [b] time. [c] not. [d] soweth. [e] some of the.
[f] *f.* great. [g] Campegius. [h] And thus. [i] guidance of.
[k] *f.* rest thereof.

END OF VOL. I.

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